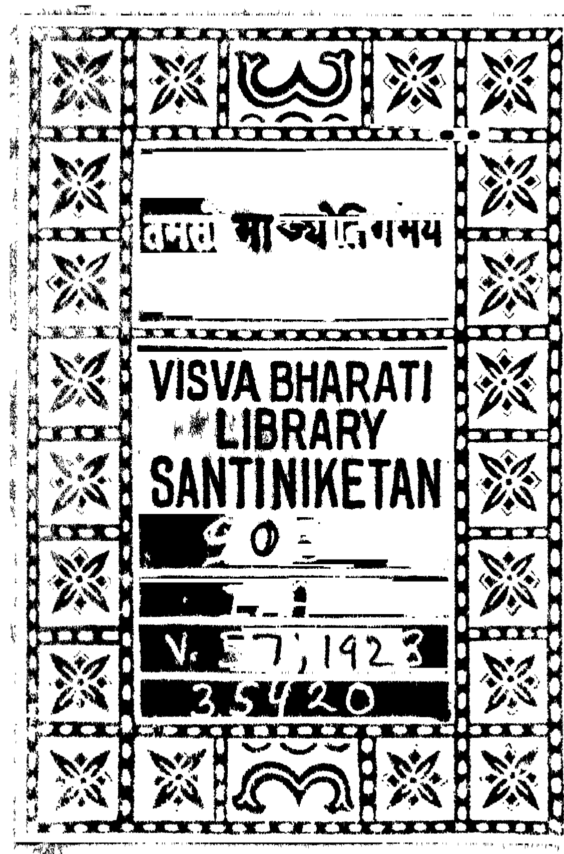


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THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, Etc., Etc.,

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INDEX
TO
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CONTENTS.

MISCELLANEA.

BOOK-NOTICES.

BOOK-NOTICES—*contd.*

NOTES AND QUERIES

SUPPLEMENTS

PLATES.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME LVII—1928

PROGRESS OF THE COLLECTION OF MSS. AT DACCA UNIVERSITY (1926-27).

By N. K. BHATTASALI, M.A.

My first report on the collection of MSS. at Dacca University was published in this Journal in July 1926. The following report will show what progress has since been made :—

Number of Additions.

The serial number of bundles catalogued stood, on the 31st March 1926, at 1,181, excluding the 579 bundles presented by Babu Krishṇadâs Âchâryya Chaudhuri, which have been separately numbered and preserved. The serial number of bundles obtained up to the time of this report is 2,171, thus showing an addition of 990 bundles during the session. Our collection is gradually growing more and more selective and this accounts for the comparatively smaller volume of our collection during the present session. Taking on the average four MSS. per bundle, the number of MSS. collected up to the time of this report will be more than 10,000.

Donations.

A very large number of small donations were received during the Session, mainly through the exertion of our agents. The most notable donation was that of Pandit Yaśodâkânta Chakravartî of Kâsâbhog, District Faridpur, who made us a free gift of 109 MSS. valued at Rs. 154. These MSS. belonged to his father, the famous late Krishṇakânta Śiromaṇi, the premier *kathaka* of East Bengal in his day. MSS. of eight *Upaniṣads* with commentaries, and palm-leaf MSS. of some parts of the *Skanda-Purâṇa* were among the most valuable MSS. in this lot.

Notable Additions to the Sanskrit Section.

The usual additions in *Purâṇa*, *Itihâsa*, *Kâvya*, *Nâṭaka*, *Alaṁkâra*, *Jyotiṣa*, *Dharmmaśâstra*, *Tantra*, *Âdiparava*, *Smṛiti*, *Nyâya*, *Vyâkaraṇa*, *Chikitsâ*, etc., are too numerous to mention. Special mention should, however, be made of the following MSS. :—

Purâṇa :—(1) A MS. of the *Kûrma-Purâṇa* in palm-leaf from Birbhum, about 500 years old. (2) A MS. of *Viṣṇu-Purâṇa* from Faridpur, dated in 1432 *Śaka*.

Itihâsa :—A MS. of the Âdiparva of the *Mahâbhârata*, from Sylhet, about 300 years old.

Kâvya :—Several good MSS. of *Raghuvaṃśa*, *Mêghadûta*, *Śiśupâla-vadha*, *Ghatakarpparakâvya*, etc., were obtained. A new commentary on *Raghuvaṃśa* by Chaturânana Dhṛitisiṁha, composed in 1350 *Śaka* has been found in a fragmentary condition.

Nâṭaka :—Numerous copies of *Mahânâṭaka* were obtained. Dr. S. K. De has discovered, by a collation of seven of our MSS., that the drama was known in two distinct recensions. A MS. of *Kautukaratna* by Lakshmaṇa-mâṇikya, king of Bhuluâ (Noakhali) and contemporary of Akbar and Jahângîr, and another of *Kautuka-sarvvasva*, by Gopinâtha Sarasvatî, are interesting additions. MSS. of *Hâsyârnava* are already numerous in our collection and are no longer accepted.

Alaṁkâra :—A transcript of *Vakrokti-Jîvita* by Kuntaka has been obtained from the Jaisalmer, Jain Bhaṇḍrâ and another of *Dhvanyâloka* has been ordered from the Tanjore Palace Library.

Jyotiṣha :—The most valued addition to this section are two MSS. of *Adbhuta-sâgara*, by Ballâla Sena-Deva, one (incomplete) from Nadia district and the other (complete) in Devanâgari script from Âhâr in Bulandshahr district in the U.P. The latter is a particularly valuable MS., dated *Śaka* 1658, and is thus about 200 years old. Both of them give the year in which the work was begun, *viz.*, 1090 *Śaka*. Hailing from widely distant places, they should help to set at rest all controversy regarding the dates of Ballâla Sena and Lakṣhmaṇa Sena.

Dharmaśâstra :—The most valuable additions are the MSS. of *Bṛihadâranyaka*, *Taittirîya*, *Kaṭha*, *Aitarêya*, *Maṇḍukya*, *Kêṇa*, *Atharva* and *Iśa Upaniśads*, with commentaries of

Śaṁkara, Ânandajñâna and Narâyaṇêndra. They are not very old, but they form an interesting series, all of them the donations of Pandit Yaśodâkânta Chakravarti of Kasâbhog, District Faridpur.

Tantra :—*Tantras* turned up in overwhelming numbers, testifying to the popularity of this class of literature in Bengal. Only a very selective collection was made. A MS. of *Kâmaratna Tantra*, dated 1589 *Śaka* deserves mention. Transcripts of 15 *Pañcharâtra Âgamas* and *Tantras* were ordered from the Madras Oriental MSS. Library and the Adyar MSS. Library, some of which have been received.

Abhidhâna :—A MS. of a new lexicon, called *Rûpachintâmaṇi*, by Yâdavânanda, son of Govindadâs, composed in 1589 *Śaka*, deserves mention. We have discovered another copy of a commentary on *Amarakoṣa* on the lines of that of Sarvvânanda, from Faridpur District. Unfortunately, the MS. is incomplete and ends with *Vaiśya-pradhâna vargga*, 116 fols. A complete MS. of *Trikâṇḍa-śeṣa* by Puruṣottama, dated in 1540 *Śaka*, also deserves mention.

Smṛiti :—As already mentioned in last year's report, we have stopped accepting Raghunandan's works unless they are very old. Some MSS. of Śûlapâṇi were added this year. An interesting addition is a MS. on *Tulâpuruṣapaddhati*, by Mahârâja Mânasiṁha.

Nyâya :—No notable addition.

Medicine :—A MS. of *Chikitsâtattva* by Śrî Krishṇa Kavi and another called *Mugdhavodha* by one Raghunandana deserve mention.

Grammar :—No notable addition.

Genealogy :—Nine bulky genealogical works of the Vârendra Brahmans were obtained from a family of professional *Ghaṭaks* of Faridpur. This family served the whole Vârendra Brahman community of Eastern Bengal as *Ghaṭaks* and as such, their MSS. are expected to be particularly valuable.

Notable Additions to the Bengali Section.

The most remarkable addition is a complete MS. of the Bengali translation of the *Mahâbhârata* by Sañjaya in 639 folia and dated in 1232 B.S. in the reign of Gaṅgâdhara-mâṇikya, king of Tippera. It is a huge MS. in length, breadth and thickness, written on specially prepared paper and was purchased for Rs. 60. Two MSS. of a translation of the *Mahâbhârata* made by Śrîkara Nandî under the patronage of Paragal Khân and his son Chhuti Khân, the Muslim Governors of Chittagong during the reigns of Ḥusain Shâh and his son Nasrat Shâh, are also valued additions. One is in 437 fols. dated 1208 B.S. and the other in 342 fols. and dated in 1096 B.S. or 1611 *Śaka*. They were obtained from Noakhali. The latter is a particularly valuable MS. and helps to prove that the name of the author was Śrîkara Nandî and his title was Kavîndra-Parameśvar. The title and the name have been made into two different personages by Dr. D. C. Sen.

The following MSS. also deserve special mention :—

1. A metrical translation of *Haribhaktivilâsa* by Kanai Dâs.
2. *Bhakti-uddîpana*, *Vaiṣṇava-dharmma*, *Vaiṣṇavalîlâmṛita* by Brindâvan Dâsâ.
3. *Śrî-Krishṇa-vijaya* by Guṇarâja Khân, dated 1112 B.S.
4. Several copies of *Mahâbhârata*, by Râmeśvar Nandî.
5. *Râmâyaṇa*, by Lokanâth Sen, and Manohar Sen.
6. *Gaṅgâbhakti-taraṅginî*, by Durgâprasâd of Ulâ.
7. *Manohara-mâlatî saṁvâda*, of Sachinandan, composed under the patronage of Râjâ Upendranârâyaṇ of Cooch-Behar.
8. *Kâlikâpurâṇa*, by Dâsa Haridatta.
9. *Kṣaṇadâ-gîtachintâmaṇi*, an anthology by Viśvanâtha (fragment). a Six MSS. of *Smṛiti* in old Bengali prose are also interesting additions. The Bengali Section is making rapid strides and comprises at present about 2,000 MSS.

Progress of the work of Cataloguing.

We were fortunate in securing the services of an experienced hand like Babu Mathurânâth Majumdâr for preparing a detailed catalogue of our collection. His lifelong service in this line in the Asiatic Society of Bengal and his association with veterans like Mahâmahopâdyâya Haraprasâd Śâstrî had given him unique opportunities and experience, by which we expect our collection to benefit. The work of detailed cataloguing is necessarily slow and the term of Mathura Babu had to be extended beyond six months for which he was employed in the first instance. Up till now, he has succeeded in cataloguing about 600 bundles only, and it will be in the interests of the University to extend his term for a further period to enable him to complete his work. The preliminary serial cataloguing is done by the Library Assistant Babu Abinâś Chandra Basu, and he is easily keeping pace with the work of collection. He also assists me for two hours daily in the preparation of the valuation lists, an arrangement which serves to give me very valuable assistance and also to train him up in the work of recognising MSS. and preparing their catalogue.

Utilisation.

The MSS. are already attracting workers. Dr. De has edited a hitherto unpublished *Kâvya* called *Kîchaka-badha* from two MSS. in our collection, with a commentary from a MS. preserved in the British Museum. This book will be published by the University. He is now engaged in editing the *Mahânâṭaka* from seven MSS. in our collection. Mr. Radhâgovinda Basâk is editing the *Ghaṭakarppara Kâvya* from our MSS. with an old commentary. Dr. S. K. Das of Rajshahi College is studying the *Pancharâtra Âgamas* and *Tantras* with the help of the transcripts obtained from Madras. Mr. Umeś Chandra Bhaṭṭâchâryya is studying some of the *Tantras* in our collection. Prof. Tucci is utilising the MSS. on *Durgâ-pûjâ* for writing his work on the same subject. Babu Subodh Chandra Banerji, our Travelling Agent, is making a thorough study of the Sarvvânandî commentary of *Amarakoṣa* and some genealogical works in that connection. The writer of the present note is studying some of the Bengali MSS. Mr. Satish Chandra Roy, the renowned Vaiṣṇava scholar offered his services to the MSS. Committee in the preparation of reliable editions of important Vaiṣṇava works. He has already been commissioned to edit an old Bengali *Kâvya* called *Harivaṁśa* by Bhavânanda from three MSS. of the work in his own possession and three other MSS. in the collection of Dacca University. He has also agreed to edit Chandîdâs and other Vaiṣṇava poets from MSS. in our collection.

Personnel.

The following members continued to serve on the MSS. Committee—Dr. S. K. De, President; Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, Honorary Secretary; Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Mr. Radhagovinda Basak, Mr. N. G. Bannerjee, Mr. Fakhruddin Ahmed, Mr. Muhammad Shahidullah. On the departure of Mr. Shahidulla for France, Mr. Umesh Chandra Bhaṭṭachâryya was elected in his place.

Tours.

The Honorary Secretary undertook a tour in search of MSS. in the districts of Faridpur and Barisal in October last and obtained some important MSS.

Agents.

Babu Subodh Chandra Banerji, M.A., as Travelling Agent, continued to give us very valuable service. During this session, he toured the districts of Sylhet, Tippera, Noakhali and Bogra and obtained many important MSS. The collection of MSS. should be a permanent feature of the University of Dacca and the trained services of Babu Subodh Chandra Banerji should be placed on a stable footing as one of the permanent employees of Dacca University.

Babu Bireswar Roy, Local Agent for the Madaripur Sub-division of Faridpur district, is also giving us splendid service and deserves our heartiest thanks.

SOURCES FOR AN ACCOUNT OF THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, Bt., TO AURANGZEB.

By HARIHAR DAS, B.Litt. (Oxon.), F.R.Hist.S.

Sir William Norris went out to India as representative both of the ruling sovereign and of the New or English East India Company. His embassy covered a period of nearly four years(1698–1702), which was pregnant with future consequences. It saw the beginning of the decline of the Mughal Empire and the union of the rival companies which led ultimately to British suzerainty in India. The history of those years forms a stirring period in the annals of the two Companies. Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to the Court of Jahângîr has been exhaustively treated, notably in the work of Sir William Foster. But the scarcely less important mission of Sir William Norris to the Court of Aurangzeb, nearly a century later, has not hitherto received from historical writers on India that attention which the importance of the subject demands.

John Bruce incorporated in his *Annals of the East India Company* a lengthy narrative of the mission, compiled from the records then kept at East India House. In spite, however, of the great care obviously devoted to the work, he seems to have omitted to consult certain of those records, particularly Sir William's Journals, which contain a vivid account of the embassy. The supreme merit of Bruce's work as a whole lies in the fact that it is a storehouse of information. It can hardly be considered complete, for being an official of the Company, he naturally suppressed facts likely to give a handle to its enemies. It is, however, a well-written account and fairly accurate, as he had full access to the Company's records. Among others who have written on the Norris mission, Sir Cornelius Dalton may be mentioned. Mr. P. E. Roberts has contributed a chapter on the subject to Sir W. W. Hunter's (unfinished) *History of India*. Mr. Arnold Wright has given a short but lucid account of the embassy in his book, *Annesley of Surat and His Times*, and Mr. Beckles Willson has also written a chapter on the subject in his book, *Ledger and Sword*. In extracts too from the *Diary of William Hedges* we get glimpses of the mission, but these are by no means exhaustive, though his comments are invaluable. It will be seen, then, that notwithstanding their good qualities these contributions to the history of the period are only portions of a general literary scheme, in which Sir William Norris' mission ranks merely as an episode. Further, it may not be out of place to mention that most of the writers have put Bruce's *Annals* under contribution, without fully realizing the value of the original records.

The *Factory Records* at the India Office, especially volumes 19 and 20, contain most valuable accounts of the embassy, apart from Sir William Norris' own Journals. These records consist of important miscellaneous letters, copies of the documents sent to England. There are variations in the handwriting of these records, different writers having been allotted to different sections. For example, one writer would copy the out-going and in-coming letters of a certain factory, another the consultations, and so on. The records entitled *Original Correspondence*—received by the Court of Directors at home from their servants in the East also afford valuable material. That correspondence includes original documents, detached letters in the handwriting of the authors, and general letters from the factories, in the handwriting of clerks employed for the time being in the Secretary's Office. These letters are not chronologically arranged, nor are the sheets uniform in size. There are gaps occasioned by loss of documents in transit; by destruction of others thought to be useless; and by decay of the papers owing to insufficient care. The *Letter Books* and the *Court Minutes* are useful; for the former contain copies of letters sent from England by the Court of Directors to their factors in India; while the latter throw light upon the situation at home and the steps taken in connection therewith by the Court. The latter is indicated by the nature of the resolutions passed.

MS. records relating to the embassy preserved at the British Museum are confined to two volumes. These are the Additional MSS. 22,843 and 31,302. The former is vol. II of the Thomas Pitt Papers, which contain letters from the Governor to various chiefs of the Old Company's settlements, and give some idea of the intrigues between the rival companies and

the satirical comments on the ambassador's actions so characteristic of the great "interloper." This volume, together with the whole set of Thomas Pitt Papers, was purchased by the Museum authorities from J. Tomlinson on April 26, 1859. The latter MS. (31,302) is most important as it contains copies of the Ambassador's Commission, Instructions and Covenants, together with other important documents relating to the embassy. This MS. was bought from C. Blaker on December 11, 1880 with other manuscripts. Neither of these vendors appears to have been a dealer or a bookseller. There are in these Additional MSS. letters, copies of which are also to be found in the *Surat Factory Records* and *Original Correspondence*. Careful comparison therefore is necessary to avoid repetitions; while the wording and language of the documents are often misleading, rendering close consideration very necessary.

Sir William Norris mentioned in his will, and in the declaration dictated on his deathbed to Thomas Harlowin, his treasurer, that he had left six volumes in his own handwriting of "Journalls of transactions and observations from the time of his Excellency's leaving England to the 14th of September" [1702]. According to this statement two volumes of the Journal are missing. Two of the four extant volumes are preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, among the manuscripts of the Rawlinson Collection (*c.* 912 and *c.* 913). These were acquired by Dr. Rawlinson at Lord Halifax's sale in 1715. The first volume begins with Sir William's arrival at Porto Novo Road, September 12, 1699, and ends on May 1, 1700; and the second volume begins on December 10, 1700 with his arrival at Surat, and ends on April 23, 1701, when he was at Parnella. There is a gap of just over seven months in the journal, which covers the period while Sir William Norris was at Masulipatam, and includes the voyage to Surat. Another gap of nearly five months occurs from the time of his arrival at Parnella till he settled in his camp at the Emperor's "leschar." These blanks, however, do not break the thread of the narrative, as they are covered by Sir William's letters to the Council at Surat and to the Court of Directors, which letters contain detailed accounts of current events. Mr. Macray, who compiled the catalogue of the Rawlinson MSS., mentioned that Rawlinson inserted a loose slip of paper saying, "Norris was not [the] author of this journal." This dubious assertion challenges criticism, for either Dr. Rawlinson did not find time to examine the volumes carefully, or possibly he could not read them on account of the illegible handwriting, which requires the assistance of an expert to decipher it.

The other two volumes of the Journal marked V, VI (C.O. 77/50-51) preserved at the Public Record Office, London, cover the period of Sir William's negotiations at the Mughal Court, his return to Surat, with transactions there, and his sailing for England. Of these, vol. V commences September 26, 1701, when he was at his "Camp in the Emperours Leschar neare Macanangur", and ends on March 12, 1701/2 on his return to Surat; and vol. VI commences March 13, 1701/2 and ends September 14, 1702. These volumes of journals are bound in vellum, and vol. V bears the arms of the English East India Company on both sides. There is nothing known at the Public Record Office concerning the acquisition of these manuscripts. It may, however, be of interest to readers to learn that in the superseded printed list of Colonial Office records of 1876 a footnote to the East India Correspondence states that the two volumes in question, with others, "were received from the State Paper Office."

There is also a fragment of Sir William's Journal at the India Office (in vol. O. C. 54) which records events from the time of his departure from England, on January 5, 1698–9, to the middle of March of the same year, whilst he was visiting the Cape de Verde Islands.

These Journals possess great historical value. Not only do they give a full account of daily events and of matters concerning the embassy, but they contribute much to our knowledge of domestic life at the Mughal Court. If the two missing volumes of the Journals could be traced they would no doubt materially add to the value of the records, but so far all attempts to discover them in any of the public archives of Great Britain have failed. It is difficult to conjecture at this distance of time how they disappeared. Sir William Foster

records in his *Guide to the India Office Records* that in 1717 some of the "Company's packets and other papers were thrown on heaps in the Back Warehouse." Some more papers were destroyed during the years 1858–1860 and also in 1867. It cannot now be ascertained whether those two volumes were included in this destruction of what probably were valuable records.

Besides the authorities mentioned above, there are family records, such as correspondence by different members of the Norris family, from which additional glimpses of the embassy and of Sir William's family can be obtained. These records, entitled *Norris Papers* are now preserved in the Liverpool Public Library. They were described in an admirable article by Mr. R. Stewart-Brown, M.A., F.S.A., in the *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* (Sept. 6, 1921). The collection has been calendared at his instance and transferred to the Public Library from the Town Clerk's office. For over seventy years it had lain there unknown, except for a selection published in 1846 by the Chetham Society (vcl. IX), under the editorship of Thomas Heywood, F.S.A., who remarked that "the MSS. here printed are a portion of a much larger collection made by several generations of the family of Norris of Speke." In fact, all the *Norris Papers*, as Mr. Stewart-Brown tells us, "cover a much wider field than would appear from a perusal of [the] Chetham Society's publication." Although there are only about six letters from Sir William himself, there are many which refer to him in one way or another. Some are concerned with his election to Parliament, his movements abroad, his expected return to England, and litigation arising out of his death. Further information regarding Sir William can be obtained from vol. IV of the Liverpool *Town Books*, of which only the first volume has so far been published.

The Persian and Arabic MSS. of that period do not contain much information bearing on Norris' mission, except that, as Professor Sarkar tells us, there are in *Akhbârât-i-darbâr-i-mu'allā* "occasional references to the English, such as the visit of Sir William Norris, but no narrative of the dealings and negotiations with them. On the whole, the references are too brief to be of much use to us." It is, therefore, doubtful whether any substantial information on the subject, from the Indian point of view, can be gleaned from any State Papers of the Mughal Government.

There are also references to the mission in writings of contemporaries, such as Manuchi and Tillard, who contribute some valuable recollections. In many particulars they corroborate the accuracy of other authorities. The Dutch records at the Hague also contain references to the mission, but these are of little material assistance.

Indian students of their country's history are now realising the great heritage that has come down to them. From that heritage arises the duty of bringing to the light of day all forgotten periods of her history; for without a just estimate of India's past the position she aspires to gain to-day among the nations cannot be understood: and a proper appreciation of the justice of her claims must precede their voluntary concession. Bolingbroke declared that "History is philosophy teaching by example." The Indian student will find in the varied record of his country, extending to those remote and nebulous periods, generally described as "the dawn of history," much to instruct him and much also to warn. The peoples of India taken as a whole have never enjoyed long periods of assured prosperity and happiness. Their lines have seldom fallen to them in pleasant places. They have learned their philosophy in difficult times and under hard conditions. But if they are to turn their experiences as a nation to account and profit by what they have endured they must study and fully comprehend the records left by those who have gone before. The lessons of history ought never to be ignored and each of its students must contribute to their elucidation. Much has been accomplished; much more remains to be done. Thus each Indian historical worker will further not merely the comprehension of his country, but also its recognition as a unit in the commonwealth of nations. For extension of historical knowledge is the surest basis of civilization throughout the world.

ST. THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA.

BY P. J. THOMAS, M.A., B.LITT. (OXON.), PH.D.

EVEN as your correspondent, Mr. T. K. Joseph (*I.A.*, December 1926), I am a St. Thomas Christian, and I may also claim that I have long endeavoured to study our traditional accounts about St. Thomas' connection with South India. I cannot, however, agree with his conclusions on the historical value of the Malabar tradition. I am far from saying that the South Indian apostolate of St. Thomas is an established historical fact, but I hold that no conclusive proof has so far been adduced to disprove, or even to discredit, the hoary tradition that St. Thomas preached and died in South India. Nor has your correspondent brought forward anything to shake this view.

In the present article, I propose to examine the various statements made by your correspondent; in my next I shall give my own conclusions on the South Indian tradition about St. Thomas.

1. The Acta Thomæ.

In paragraphs 1 to 3 and 9, Mr. Joseph brings out the divergence between the *Acts of Thomas* and the South Indian tradition. After many decades of careful research scholars have come to the conclusion, which is now well established, that the *Acta*, although a valuable literary work, is not strictly an historical document. As Professor F. C. Burkitt has put it (*Journal of Theological Studies*, 1900, pages 280–290). "It is an elaborate romance told with much skill in the delineation of character." Besides, it was written with the object of propagating certain Gnostic doctrines which the Edessan School of Bardaisan clung to and preached with greater zeal. No wonder that this work does not seem to have been accepted by the orthodox East Syrians. St. Ephraim, who lived not long after the *Acta* was written (died 373 A.D.), accuses the disciples of Bardaiṣan of propagating their master's heresies by forged *Acts of* the Apostles. According to Burkitt, this very likely refers to the *Acta* as well as other similar gnostic works. Such was the view of the East Syrian church on the *Acta*, and this explains why the Malabar Syrians, too, do not seem to have had copies of it in 1599 (as is evident from the list of books given by historians of the Synod of Diamper).

The *Acta* purports to be based on incidents that took place in India, but the names used and the customs portrayed are either West-Asian (Syrian or allied); most certainly, they are not Indian, however much Medlycott might try to interpret them as such. Only one name, Gûdnaphar, has some verbal similarity to the name of a known Parthian king called Gadaphara (or Gudapharasa) known by certain coins found in the Kabul region.[1] This similarity may as well be due to the fact that the author of the romance knew at least one real name which he thought was Indian. But India is not Parthia. As will be shown in another connection, the boundaries of India and Parthia were better known in Western Asia at that time than is assumed by many modern writers. Nor is this the only confusion in which the author has landed us.

Again, we have to bear in mind that the author of the *Acta* cannot have had any first hand information on the doings of St. Thomas. The *Acta* was written in Edessa, but no serious historian has ever claimed that St. Thomas preached in that region. Nor does it seem that Christianity was professed there in apostolic times. The information must have therefore come by hearsay, possibly from Indian traders or Roman ambassadors who passed by Edessa. (Evidence of such embassies are numerous; *e.g.*, Priaulx, *JRAS.*, in XVIII, p. 309. Also, 1861, p. 345.)

It is therefore unreasonable to criticise the South Indian tradition because it does not follow the *Acta*. And the logic employed is certainly suspicious. Mr. Joseph discredits certain points in the tradition because they do not tally with the *Acta*; and he discredits other points (*e.g.*, para. 10) because they tally too well with it. From what I have said above, it is clear that whatever value the South Indian Tradition may possess is altogether independent of the *Acta*. That tradition might as well have been the source from which the

[1] The name of the king differs in the different versions of the *Acta*: in Syriac, *Gûdnaphar*: in Greek, *Gondhaphoros*. The Ethiopic versions give quite a different name; one of them speaks of a "king of Gôna," a name which tallies with the Malabar account, if "Gôna" is interpreted as "Chola," which is not unthinkable. Another version gives the name of the king as "Kantu Koros." It is evident from these that it is not entirely safe to identify the king of the *Acta* with the "Gadaphara" of the "Indo-Parthian" coins.

Acta got the nuclei of some of its fanciful stories. In any case, it is not right to give these stories any greater validity than the ancient traditions of Malabar.

2. The Malabar Tradition.

Leaving aside such startling assertions of your correspondent, as for instance, that nobody before him had scrutinized the South Indian tradition (*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi* !), I shall consider the more serious points raised about that tradition.

(*a*) *Translation of the relics.* In paragraph 4, it is pointed out that the Malabar tradition did not take cognisance of the translation of the apostle's remains to Edessa. It is true that the extant popular versions in Malabar do not mention it ; rather they stop with the death of the apostle. But it cannot be said that Malabar did not know of it, since St. Ephraim's writings (which mention this) were known in Malabar. Possibly our forefathers might have believed that the whole of the mortal remains were not removed from Mylapore, and this belief cannot have been unfounded. The East Syrians knew that the relics were in Edessa ; and yet they venerated the tomb at Mylapore, as is well-known. This must have been the reason why the Malabar Church did not give prominence to the translation of a part of the relics.

However it is not true to say that the South Indian tradition as a whole was unaware of the translation. The Hindu version published by the present writer in the *Proceedings* of the Indian Historical Records Commission (1924) expressly says that a merchant from St. Thomas' country ('Western Asia' ?) discovered the Apostle's body by a miraculous sign and that the bones were removed by him to his country. Apparently the Portuguese had no knowledge of it and this was due to the fact that all they knew about St. Thomas (apart from the oral tradition picked up in Malabar) was from Mediæval European writings, which show hardly any knowledge of the translation.

(*b*) *The Dukhrana feast* (*Para 5*). It is true that the feast of St. Thomas is kept in Malabar and by East Syrian Churches on 3rd July, and not on 21st December as in the Western Church. The writer apparently assumes, following Bishop Medlycot, that 3rd July denotes the translation of the relics to Edessa, while 21st December denotes the martyrdom. This assumption is certainly unwarranted. There is no evidence to show that the feast kept by the East Syrians, celebrates the deposition of the relics and not the martyrdom. Medlycott fell into this mistake by the misinterpretation of the Syriac word 'Dukhrana,' but Mr. Joseph apparently does not accept it and yet, strangely enough, he agrees with Medlycott's conclusion.

If, as is generally believed, St. Thomas died in India, his feast must have first originated in that country and later spread to the Eastern churches, and only subsequently to the Western church. The extant versions of the Malabar tradition claim that a feast was instituted soon after the martyrdom by the disciples assembled at Mylapore. Accordingly, the Malabar church not only keeps the feast like other Eastern churches, but has in addition an eight day's Office following the feast. There is not a single allusion in this Octave, nor in the Office read at the feast, to the translation of the relics, whilst the martyrdom is mentioned repeatedly in those ancient documents.

The date of the feast is itself a refutation of the view that it commemorates the translation ; the beginning of July is the middle of the South-West Monsoon, during which, as everyone knows, no sailing vessels dares to cross the Arabian sea. The writer may also make sure whether his translation of Syriac terms (e.g., *Mârânaya*) is correct.

Why does the Western church keep the festival on December 21 ? It is not possible to say for certain. Nor is the example of the Western church followed by the Greeks and Copts, who keep the apostle's feast on 6th October and 26th May respectively.

The Roman Church has, in rare instances, changed the feasts of saints for the sake of the convenience of the faithful. In early times, the principal festival of Apostles Peter and Paul was not on 29th June, as subsequently it has become. In some cases, when the exact date of death was not known or when the known date was found inconvenient,a more suitable date was chosen(*e.g.*, the feast of James the Apostle). Thus the argument from the Dukhrana feast can hardly stand.

3. The Legend of Setting up Crosses.

Paragraph 6 states that Malabar tradition is wrong in holding that St. Thomas set up crosses. Even if this allegation was true, the whole tradition cannot be discarded because of this one anachronism. But there are various considerations to be taken into account.

(*i*) Early Christian monuments of Oriental countries have not yet been sufficiently scrutinized as to assert confidently that the worship of the Cross was not in vogue in the East before a certain date.

(*ii*) The *Acts of the Apostles* do not purport to give the complete doings of all the Apostles, and even if it is true that other Apostles did not set up Crosses this legend does not altogether fall to the ground. Thomas might have felt the special need in India of setting up some visible emblem of Christian worship in the place of similar Non-Christian emblems (*e.g.*, the phallic cult).

(*iii*) St. Ephraim was not perhaps indulging in a mere metaphor when he sang that "The Cross of Light has obliterated India's darkened shades." Does it mean that Thomas replaced the cross of darkness by the cross of light ? It is also significant that no other country has made a speciality of open air Crosses as Malabar has done. The number and prominence of these huge granite Crosses in Malabar is a feature that deserve special consideration in this connection.

I do not, however, claim that this part of the Malabar tradition is completely historical, and it is not essential for my purpose. The worship of the Cross might as well have been a development since the arrival of the Persian colonists, but this is by no means proved. Evidently, the Thomistic tradition will not fall to the ground, even if we discard the story about setting up Crosses.

4. Portuguese Accretions.

Your correspondent labours hard to prove in paragraphs 7 to 16 that the Portuguese embellished the Malabar tradition, and that the dates of the Apostle's arrival and martyrdom were "invented" by them. But he has produced no single shred of evidence to prove that view, and offers only guesses and surmises instead.

(*a*) He supposes that as a result of Portuguese interpolation, we have the dates 50, 51 and 52 A.D. for the arrival of St. Thomas. The very fact that there is no agreement on this date is sufficient proof against this supposition. If the Portuguese had concocted the date, there would necessarily have been greater uniformity about it. These discrepancies, by the way, do not materially weaken the tradition, seeing that early Christian chronology (*e.g.*, the date of Nativity) is by no means accurately fixed.

(*b*) So far as I am aware, the Portuguese were not much interested in the Apostolic origin of the Malabar Church. Instead of embellishing the theory they would, if they could, have probably tried to question it. But they found the mediæval travellers unanimously acclaiming the tradition and they were compelled, willy-nilly, to grant the apostolic claim put forward by the St. Thomas Christians. I do not think that any one who knows the methods and habits of the Portuguese would credit Mr. Joseph's supposition that the Portuguese taught such works as *de Miraculis* and *Passio* in their Seminaries in the sixteenth century. The supposition that the Portuguese borrowed from the *Acta* is also unwarranted. That work was not known in Malabar, so far as I am aware, and even if such a borrowing happened, it does not materially weaken the Malabar tradition, since it is admitted that that tradition existed in some form in pre-Portuguese times.

5. The Pre-Portuguese Tradition.

In spite of the many blemishes of the Malabar tradition Mr. Joseph finds it hard to explain away the fact that the tradition of the preaching of St. Thomas in Malabar existed long before the arrival of the Portuguese. That tradition has been recorded by early travellers like Marco Polo, Marignolli, Friar Odoric, John of Monte Corvino and Nicolo Conti. Their versions vary, but this must have been due to the imperfect understanding of these globe-trotters rather than to the feebleness of the tradition itself.

The Malabar tradition existed in songs and poems, and at present it is embodied in two extant works, *Mârgam-Kaļi Pâttu* and *Thomas Ramban's Song* (called *Thômâ Parvam*).

The latter is regarded as having been written in 1601, but the date of the former cannot be accurately ascertained. The present song or part of it may be of later origin than 1600, but it is certain that a similar song existed before 1600, since the contemporary historian, Gouvea, (*Jornada*, Bk. II, p. 87) has recorded that the Thomas Christians of Angamale amused the Archbishop during his sojourn there in 1599 by singing and playing the songs relating to St. Thomas. This unmistakably refers to *Mârgam Kaḷi*.

Did no ancient treatises exist ? Are none extant ? It is difficult to answer these questions. Thômâ Ramban claims that larger works containing accounts of St. Thomas' doings were removed by the Portuguese in 1599 and that this rendered necessary some short work dealing with the same subject, and hence his attempt. This may possibly be true. Was it a translation of this work that the Jesuit Father Roth took with him to Rome in 1662 ? It was claimed that it was a translation from Syriac MSS. into Latin. If such a large work existed at all, it must have been in Syriac, and not in Malayâlam. Kircher in his *China Illustrata* (Amsterdam 1667) has quoted from the Latin translation. The Tamil manuscript attributed to Nanapracasam Pillai (Mackenzie collection) must be a version of it, for it contains traditions which are found only in Malabar. Pillai's claim that he had translated from Latin might as well be true since the Latin version alone was accessible to him.[2] Another South Indian version has been given in my paper in the *Report* of the Indian Historical Records Commission. These are all independent of the *Acta Thomæ*, for their versions are at variance with that work in many respects. And this fact cannot be so easily explained away by those who appeal to the *Acta* as the fountain-head of all information concerning St. Thomas' doings.

6. The New Theory.

Finally, I come to the theory expounded by Mr. Joseph himself as affording a better explanation of the origin of South Indian Christianity. According to him, an unknown " saintly missionary " *must have* come to South India from Edessa in the second century, who *must have* died and been buried in Mylapore, and a grand feast *must have* been instituted to commemorate his memory and this *must have* engendered the notion that the saint lying buried at Mylapore was St. Thomas himself. While reading this, I was led to doubt if we are still in the age of legend. Ingenious men have in every age embellished and interpreted (and thereby often made ludicrous) the valuable traditions existing before them. Here is one such attempt.

This theory is not worth serious examination as every step of it is a bare supposition unsupported by evidence. Yet one or two observations might be made here. The whole thing seems to turn on the verbal resemblance between the words, " Thomas " and " Tômmûs " (the name of the month in which the Apostle's feast is kept). This verbal analogy looks hollow to those who read Syriac. The name of the Apostle in Syriac is " Thômâ," and the month is called " Th'mooz " or "Themooz." These two words have independent origins and have no discoverable relation. Besides feasts are not called by the name of the month in which they are kept. It is also difficult to believe that the enlightened Christians of Western Asia were foolish enough to be deluded into believing that they were keeping the feast of the Apostle instead of the unnamed missionary, who cannot have been unknown to them. Indeed the author of the new theory admits that it is his " speculation," but it is too much to expect that such speculation is more valuable than a well-established tradition.

From the rather brief examination I have attempted above, it seems clear that the Malabar tradition has not been demolished by the searching analysis to which Mr. Joseph has subjected it. Nor do I think that Dr. Minjana's able paper on the *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, to which he refers, has brought out anything to discredit that tradition. It is now necessary for me to analyse the evidence so far brought forward for and against the South Indian apostolate of St. Thomas, and I propose to do so in the sequel.

[2] See Fr. Hosten's forthcoming work. *The Antiquities from San Thome and Mylapore*, for such versions and legends.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from vol. LVI, page 213.*)

B. Stamped Lumps of Metal other than Gold and Silver.

There is evidence that gold and silver were not the only metals used as currency and stamped to show quality. *E.g.*, Crawfurd (*Embassy to Siam and Cochin China*, 1828, p. 517) says : "The *zinc* coins, as well as the gold and silver ingots, are struck at Cachao, the capital of Tonquin."

Again, Yule (*Mission to Ava*, 1858, p. 259) makes the following remark : "The old travellers of the sixteenth century talk often of *Gansa* [spelter] as a mixture of *copper* and *lead*, apparently stamped, which was the current money of Pegu in that age. Copper is not used as currency now in any part of Burma, but lead is commonly passed in all the bazars for small purchases, and baskets of it for exchange are always a prominent object in the markets. It is used in rude lumps, varying from half an ounce to a pound or so in weight. The price, when we were at Amarapoora, was 100 *viss* of *lead* for six-and-a-half tikals of the best silver." To which he adds, quoting from *Purchas*, vol. II, pp. 1717–18 : "Thus Cæsar Frederick : 'The current money that is in this Citie, and throughout all this kingdom, is called *Gansa*, or *Ganza*, which is made of copper and lead. It is not the money of the King, but every man may stamp it that will, because it hath his [its] just partition or value. But they make many of them false by putting overmuch lead into them, and those will not pass, neither will any take them. With this money *Ganza* you may buy gold or silver, rubies and muske, and other things. For there is no other money current amongst them. And gold, silver, and other merchandise are at one time dearer than another, as all other things bee' " A little more than a century later Captain Alexander Hamilton speaks of "Ganse or *lead*, which passeth all over the Pegu dominions for money" (*New Account of the East Indies*, 1727, vol. II, p. 41).

Lastly, Yule quoting Hamilton as above, calls Gansa, lead, and in his *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, p. 278 *s.v. Ganza*, he notes : "1554. 'In this Kingdom of Pegu there is no coined money, and what they use commonly consists of dishes, pans, and other utensils of service, made of a metal, like *frosyleyra* (?), broken in pieces ; and this is called *gamça* [spelter]' . . . A. Nunes, p. 38."

This quotation from the old Portuguese traveller indicates that *ganza* was not always stamped when used for currency, and such was the case. Witness La Loubère (*Siam*, 1693, Pt. I, p. 14) : "Vincent Le Blanc relates that the Peguins have a mixture of *Lead and Copper*, which he sometimes calls *Gansa* and sometimes *Ganza*, and of which he reports that they make statues and a small money, which is not stampt with the King's Coin, but which every-one has a right to make."

This lump currency in *lead*, was widely spread, for Lockyer (*Trade in India*, 1711, pp. 43–4) tells us that "Money Changing is a great Trade [in China], whence we are sure to meet with abundance of that Profession at their Stations up and down the Town : especially at the Corners of Streets where they sit with large Heaps of *Leaden Cash*, on Matts spread on the Ground before them. I could never learn the Profits of this Business : Whether they have so much per Cent. of the Government for putting them off, or do buy them of others at a cheap rate, I know not ; but 'tis certain, their Gain is very considerable, else they could not keep their Families out of it ; some of them not changing a Tale in a Day."

And then we read in *A Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch E. I. Co.*, 1703, p. 137, that [in Sumatra] "to prevent the ill Consequences, and bad Opinion they might have of them, the Dutch went on board their Ship again, where they found the *Almadis* [boats] waiting for the payment of twelve pieces of Eight for *Caxias* [cash], which the Dutch had bought

of them. These *Caxias* are a kind of Mony worse allay than Lead, of which they string 200 together, and call it *Una Sauta de Caxias*, or *Caxas*."

In vol. XLII, 1913, *ante*, I went deeply into the obsolete *tin* currency and money of the Federated Malay States. This currency was obviously reflected in Tenasserim and even in Upper Burma, for in *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China*, 1886, vol. I, p. 253, occurs the following statement : "The pieces of ingots of *tin* in the shape of the frustrum of a cone, which are manufactured at the Rehgnon mines, on the Pak Chum river to the southward, and exchanged there for goods at 4 annas each, weigh 1 *lb.* 2 *oz.* 383 *grains* ; and their value at Mergui, where the average price of tin is 85 rupees per 100 viss, of 365 lbs, is 4 annas 4 pie."

C. Oyster-shell Money (Silver).

In noting the various alleged standards of silver, *ante*, vols. XXVI, p. 160 : XLVIII, p. 53 f., it was stated that the specimens of *asèkkè* or oyster-shell money, *i.e.*, 25 per cent. alloyed silver, given in Plate I, fig. 11, has small marks on it, apparently to show fineness.[17] The following extract from *McLeod's and Richardson's Journals* during the Mission from Moulmein to the Frontiers of China in 1826 clears up this point and shows that some of the "Oyster-shell Money" was at any rate deliberately stamped. "The rupee is current here [at Zimmè] as well as the Siamose tical (the round coin), but the money most in circulation is coarse silver of about 80 per cent. alloy, I believe, melted into a circular form, in which a hollow is formed by blowing when hot ; the bottom of this cup is so fine that it is apt to break ; when this occurs, or when it is cut, the value is much deteriorated. It bears a small mark or stamp made by the court officers (by whom it is issued) on the edge. Of this description there are two sorts of equal alloy, but one twice the size of the other. One hundred ticals are given for 45 Madras rupees, but these are only equal to 75 Burmese ticals, [as] they use the same weights and measures as the Burmans, but deteriorated one-fourth, or 25 per cent."

The above statement is evidence that the Burmese *asèkkè* silver is really Shân stamped lump currency, which is strengthened by the remarks of Bock, writing in 1884. In his *Temples and Elephants*, p. 159, he tells us that the marginal marks above noted had reference to the State of issue : thus, an elephant for Lakôn, a horse for Chengmai (Zimmè).[18] On p. 361 he has a note well worth following up. He calls "the old Lao silver coins" *nàmtôk*, and says they were worth about 6 shillings each. Sarat Chandra Das, *JASB., Proc.*, 1887, p. 150, says that the symbols were merely Buddhist marks, *swastika*, fish, *chaityas*, and so on.

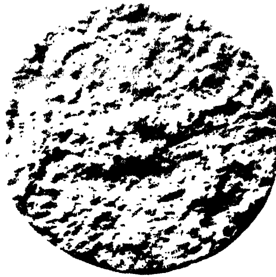
The value of certifying and stamping lump currency to show quality will be seen from the following quotation from Hamilton, *East Indies*, 1744, (vol. II, p. 304) :—"The Japonese are strict Observers of Moral Rules, and particularly in Commerce, insomuch that a Merchant of Reputation in his Payments puts up 5, 10 or any decimal number of Cupangs, which is a broad, oblong, thin Piece of Gold (of 20 Shillings Value there) into a Silk Bag, and putting his Seal on the Bag, passes current for what the Seal mentions for several Generations, without so much as once looking what is in the Bag. And Gold is so plentiful and cheap that a Cupang of twenty Shillings in Japon passes current at Batavia for thirty-two Shillings, and when the Lion is stamped on it by the Company it passes for forty Shillings Sterl."

The knowledge of the value of stamping was widely spread in the Far East. Witness Bock (*Temples and Elephants*, 1884, p. 399) in a paragraph which makes the numismatist's

[17] I have found among my notes the vernacular names of some of the figures in plate I : I record them now. Fig. 1 is in Burmese *ngwêlôn* ; in Talaing, *sônabôm*. Fig. 2 is B. *ngwèkiegalê*, T. *sônakông*. Fig. 6 is B. *ywetnî*, T. *sônathat*. Fig. 12 is *ngwêmâ*, T. *sônbô*. In Talaing the following Figs. are named as under :—3 is also called *sônakông* : 7, 8 and 9 are called *sàn* : 10 is *ôkugu* : 11 is *sônkwak* (B. *kwet*) : 13 is also *sàn*. All this shows that many of the people are hazy as to differentiating the standards. I have a note also that Fig. 16, Plate II, is called in Burmese *k'ayûbàtlon* and in Talaing *sànkanauk* (silver-shell).

[18] The symbols on the specimens given in Plate I, No. 11 are unfortunately not sufficiently discernible to enable one to say what they represent.

BURMESE CURRENCY. First stage of evolution.


2






4



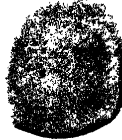

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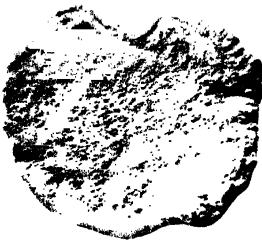
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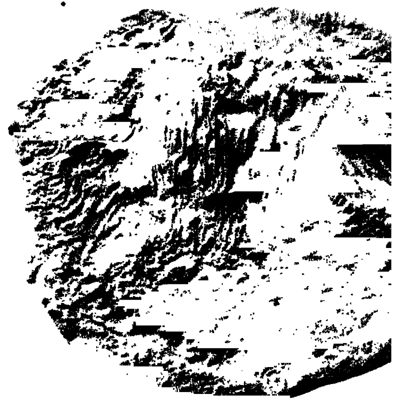

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11




12




13



FULL-SIZE.

EX COLL. R. C. TEMPLE

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mouth water. He is describing an Exhibition and remarks :—" An equally interesting show of ancient coins, some flat and some spherical, solid bars of gold and silver with a stamp at one end, side by side with old paper currency, lead, crockery and porcelain tokens, and cowries."

With reference to the use of *asêkkè* silver as currency. In 1894 I received a very interesting letter from Mr. H. S. Guinness, writing from Wuntho in Upper Burma, formerly a Shan State, on the currency obtaining there :—" I have made enquiries into the lump currency in Wuntho and find that exactly the same system existed in these parts as in Mandalay before the introduction of rupees. Gold was occasionally used and the ratio was fixed at 20 to 1, but it was not legal tender, as it was not accepted in payment of revenue. All revenue was payable in one standard of silver 25 per cent alloy [*i.e.*, *asêkkè*]. The Sawbwâ [chief] never attempted to coin, nor did he ever stamp the lump currency with any device or mark of fineness. Gold of two varieties was known, distinguished as red and yellow. The red gold was considered the best, but there was no difference between them."[19]

Mr. Guinness had the plates of these Notes before him and wrote further instructively upon them : " Rice[20] does not seem ever to have been a standard of currency, though other articles may have been, and probably were, bartered for rice. But the agreement had to be mutual between the parties concerned. There was no fixed or standard value assigned to the basket of paddy or rice : the latter being bought and sold at the market rate (*pauk zè*).[21] Rice varied in price according to demand between half a tickal and 2½ tickals silver per basket."

D. Coin of the Realm.

Although the coin stamped to indicate weight and fineness should come before regular coin of the realm in the order of evolution, it will be more convenient to treat the Burmese specimens in the reverse order, because in Burma the former were imitations of the latter.[22]

D-I. Coins of Bôdòp'ayâ.[23]

The usual historical statement is that Mindôn Min was the first to introduce coinage into Burma, but his predecessor Bôdòp'ayâ, who flourished 1781–1819 A.D., made an attempt in that direction. Yule (*Ava*, p. 255) writing in 1855, gives a good general description of his proceedings : " King Mentaragyi [Bôdòp'ayâ] expressed to Col. Symes a desire to have minting implements, and Capt. Cox [British Envoy to Ava] accordingly carried with him the necessary apparatus. A coinage was struck and issued. The metal was pure, but there was a little drawback to the success of the scheme, in the fact that the king fixed the current value of his coins at two-thirds above their real value for the silver, and at more than 400 per cent. on their value for the copper ; prohibiting all other currency, and charging the difference between the intrinsic and arbitrary value as his seignorage for coining. The usual results of such pranks followed. All trade was suspended for several weeks, till the ministers persuaded the King, not to put his coinage on a rational footing, but to give it up altogether, and since then the experiment has not been renewed."

Malcom (*Travels in South Eastern Asia*, vol. I, *Burman Empire*, 1839, p. 270), tells the story in much the same way : " The late king, Menderagyee, attempted to introduce small

19 The red gold being alloyed with copper was in reality worse than the yellow gold, which was alloyed with silver. See *ante*, vol. XLVIII, p. 106. But all over Burma from the Royal family downwards the people valued most the red gold.

20 See *ante*, vols. XXVI, p. 281, and XXIX, pp. 33 and 38.

21 This does not quite state the argument concerning rice as a currency. It was not domestically usable rice that was used as currency, but spare broken rice, which could be used for no other purpose than currency. See *ante*, vol. XXVI, p. 281.

22 As a hint to collectors I would draw attention to a statement in Danvers' *Portuguese Records*, p. 146 : " One of the earliest acts here [Malacca] of Affonso de Albuquerque appears to have been the issue of a Portuguese coinage, for in the same letter [April 1, 1512] he states : 'Nuno Vaz takes with him samples of the gold, silver and copper coins, which have been struck in your Majesty's cause.' " I have further dealt with this point, *ante*, vol. XLII, p. 109 f.

23 I adopt here the transliteration of the previous articles on this subject, which is not the official form.

silver coin, which he made with a mint establishment imported from England. But he required his ticals to pass for sixty per cent. above their real worth, and the copper for nearly three times its worth. The consequence was a universal stagnation of business ; and, after urging his law so far as to execute some for contumacy, he was at length obliged to let silver and lead pass by weight, according to their real worth, as before. The people are not anxious for coin. They cannot trust their rulers; they love higgling in bargains ; they make a profit on their money, as well as goods, by increasing its alloy ; and a numerous class of assayers, or brokers, called *Pwa-zahs* [*pwêzâ*] (by foreigners, *Poyzahs*), subsist by melting up silver, to improve or deteriorate it as they are desired. This they do before the owner's face, and have only the crucible and scoriæ for their trouble."

Besides the silver samples, Symes took to Calcutta some of copper. When Phayre wrote in 1882, apparently the only specimen known of these was that figured by him, *op. cit.*, Plate V, fig. 8. Since then I found two at Mandalay, *vide* my Plate II, figs. 22 and 23, and my Plate V, fig. 48 and 49. One is the half of the other, and they were tendered as coin in payment of bazaar fees. Locally, they were known as coins of Shwêbô Min, probably because they were known not to be an issue of Mindôn or Thîbò, and were therefore referred to their best known immediate predecessor, Thârâwadî, one of whose titles was Shwêbô Min ; or possibly they were referred generally to the Shwêbô (or Alompra) Dynasty.

Writing on the information before him, Phayre, *op. cit.*, p. 33, says that his specimen was probably a pagoda medal struck by a queen at Ava, who came from Myanaung on the Irrawaddy in Lower Burma, to be placed in a pagoda she intended to build there. This, he conjectured, because it was found at Myanaung. It is, however, clearly part of the coinage struck at Calcutta to Bôdòp'ayâ's order, because of the legend on it, which runs thus :— Obverse, two fishes : reverse, 1143 *k'u Tabôdwê lâbyîjò* 14 *yet*. That is, it is dated '14th of Tabôdwê waning, 1143, B.E., or February, 1781. It must have, therefore, been struck in the year of the succession of King Bôdòp'ayâ. See Plate II, Figs. 22 and 23, and Plate V, Figs. 48 and 49, on which last the better specimens are shown. There appear to have been three denominations, and all the coins are of copper.

A Burman, in Rangoon, supposed to be an authority on old coins, told me in 1892 that Figs. 48 and 49 of Plate V were " Shan coins often worn by children as a remembrance of ancestors and that their name was in Talaing, *sônkâ*," *kâ* meaning fish. This information is worth noting, as showing the caution necessary when collecting evidence even from the learned. I may mention that *kâ* is in Nicobarese, as in Talaing, both being languages of Môn origin, the term for 'fish.'

The coins of Bôdòp'ayâ, shown on Plate II, Figs. 22 and 23 and on Plate V, Figs. 48 and 49, must not be confused with those he issued in Arakan after he had taken possession of it. These are dated in A.D. 1781 after he had ascended the throne in Burma, and he did not conquer Arakan and issue the Arakanese coinage until 1787. His Arakan coins will be described later.

All that Symes had to tell us personally on the matter is very short. At p. 469 of his work on his Embassy to Ava, he tells us he received a letter from the Maywoon [Myôwun or Governor] of Pegue, 'asking that a carriage might be built for the king as per plans attached,' and then he goes on to say :—" The Maywoon's letter, however, contained a requisition of yet greater importance ; that was, to obtain materials for the establishment of a mint, a design, which if carried into effect, must considerably promote the prosperity of the country, as the necessity for weighing lumps of lead and silver, and ascertaining the purity, operate as a sensible impediment to commerce."

But Cox, to whom was entrusted the duty of conveying the carriage, the specimen coins and the minting machinery, has a good deal more to tell us about the matter that is exceedingly

characteristic of the Burmese and their ways. The subject is over and over again referred to in his *Burmhan Empire*, as it gave him much trouble. At p. 95 he explains how Bôdòp'ayâ, in Feb. 1797, examined the carriage, etc., and says: "He then examined the dies and the coins, and said that the characters on the copper were very right, but that those on the rupees were obsolete.[24] The [Burmese] Viceroy told him that I had promised to get the dies altered in any manner he pleased, with which he appeared highly gratified. He then expressed a wish to see the machinery and the Viceroy told him I had been so kind as to promise to show the mode of fixing and using the machinery. 'Yes,' says he, 'the Resident will do that in a few days, which we should be puzzling about for months.'"

The next step in the matter is alluded to at p. 130: "About 2 p.m. the rayhoon [*yêwun*, custom-house officer] and Mr. Moncourtuse returned from the palace. He informed me that His Majesty had ordered the rupees to be assayed, and found that one kind was fifteen per cent. worse than pure silver and the others ten per cent.,[25] and that, as it was his royal intention that none but pure silver should pass current in his dominions, he had therefore ordered the 20,000 rupees to be returned to me." As the coins were struck to pattern out of courtesy by the Governor-General, Capt. Cox very properly refused point blank to receive them back. But while the negotiations were going on, "a gilt war boat arrived with the King's treasurer, an illigetimate son of His Majesty, who had brought with him four boxes of rupees and money to pay for the copper. I desired him to be seated, but would not permit them to deliver the boxes of silver or receive the value of the copper." Later on we come to the actual payment, which was tendered in very debased silver, and Cox's remarks[26] on the steps he took to prevent his being cheated are somewhat amusing, and show that sophisticating the Burmese currency was not confined to Bayfield's *myôwun*, as described, *ante*, vol. XXVI, p. 202.

The wild proceedings of the king to establish his currency are detailed by Cox at p. 310: "July 21 [1797] His Majesty immediately after his return to Amarapoorah [Amarapura], issued orders for the currency of the pice [copper money] brought from Bengal, and prohibited the currency of silver and lead in the Bazaars: but established no rate at which the pice were to pass, nor had he coined any or even issued the whole of those I brought (one lack [*lâkh*]), nor provided any medium in the room of the silver currency. Under these circumstances the people were much distressed and obliged to substitute rice[27] instead of lead for small purchases in the provision market. Privately silver still continues current, notwithstanding the prohibition, and the officers of Government winked at it to prevent stagnation of all business. This forbearance coming to the knowledge of His Majesty, he this day suspended the whoonghees [*wunjîs*, ministers of state] from the exercise of their offices, exposed them to sun in the palace yard from ten till four o'clock with pieces of silver round their necks, and was with difficulty prevailed on by their humble submission to refrain from severer punishment. He has not, however, pardoned them and has ordered that the *looto* ['luttò (Hlutdaw), royal council of state] shall continue shut. The two mayhoons [*myôwun*] or governors of the fort are confined in the fire-house loaded with irons, and the former orders respecting the currency directed to be enforced with the greatest rigour. I understand he is coining rupees and pice in the palace."

Next day, the regulations, such as they were, regarding currency came to the Resident's notice. They are worth recording here as specimens of folly: "For 100 tickals weight of silver, 2½ per cent. standard [*ywetnî* silver, see *ante*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 49 ff.] delivered into

[24] The only specimens that seem to have survived are, the copper coins figured on my Plate II, Figs. 22 and 23, and my Plate V, Figs. 48 and 49, and described above.

[25] "This, by-the-by, proves what excellent metallurgists they are, for one kind was in fact 17 per cent. and the other 22½ per cent."—Cox's footnote.

[26] Pp. 178, 179, 180, 184, 185, 186.

[27] For broken rice as currency, see *ante*, vols. XXVI, p. 281; XXIX, p. 38

the royal mint, 60 pieces each weighing one tickal each would be given in exchange : 20 of the pice I brought from Bengal were to be given in exchange for one of those coined tickals and 40 pieces of His Majesty's coinage. Now supposing the tickals issued from the mint to be of the same standard as the silver paid in and 2½ per cent. worse than pure silver, he will gain at the rate of 66⅗ per cent. on the silver. And as the copper pice I brought cost him only one tickal, 5 per cent. silver, for 81, or 83 for one tickal of 2 per cent., if he sells them at the rate of one tickal for 20, his gain on these pice would be 315 per cent. or in plainer language the pice he bought for 100 tickals he will sell for 415 tickals. His gain on the pice of his own coinage will amount to about one-third more. But if we take into consideration the advanced or nominal value of his new silver coinage, the profits on the issue of the Bengal pice will be enormous indeed. On the lack [*lâkh*] of pice he will gain 7,318 tickals, five per cent. silver, or 8,781 *sicca* [Company's] rupees at the rate 598 per cent." (p. 312). Cox then says truly that this statement will serve as a proof of the extreme avarice, despotism and ignorance which held dominion in Burma.

The next entry we find (p. 313) is very significant: "Ten men, principal merchants, have been condemned to lose thier heads for paying and receiving silver bullion, as heretofore, contrary to His Majesty's orders." On the 27th and 28th [July, 1797], the ministers, probably goaded to desperation, had the courage to tell the king of the distress he was causing, and on the 2nd August we find an entry (p. 321) : "This day His Majesty was graciously pleased to relieve his subjects by permitting the currency of flowered silver [*ywetnî*]." Thus ended this characteristic attempt to establish a currency for the benefit of the king by the ruin of his people. It had lasted about a fortnight.

Now, we learn from this account that Cox brought 20,000 silver coins of two varieties, and 100,000 copper coins, and that the king, by his machinery, probably coined some more. But it is not probable that more than a very small proportion of any description ever got amongst the people.

Bad as were Bôdòp'ayâ's methods of forcing his currency on his people, despite its fictitious value, the proceedings of a Muslim monarch in Africa were much of the same kind and much more crafty. Charles Neufeld, who was for twelve years a captive under the Khalîfa or Mahdî 'Abdu'llâhi of the Soudan at Omdurman, wrote an account of his imprisonment at that place in the *World Wide Magazine* (1899, vol. IV, No. 21, Dec.) and at pp. 234–235 we read :—"As Nâhum Abbâjî was then trying to think out an invention for coining money, he suggested that he should apply to the Khalîfa for my services in assisting him. This request 'Abdu'llâhi was only too glad at the time to accede to. Saltpetre was coming in in large quantities, and he was in great trouble about his monetary system. As Khalîfa, he was entitled to one-fifth of all loot, property, taxes, and goods coming in to the Baitu'l-Mâl ; and as all property of whatever description was considered to belong primarily to this administration, it followed that 'Abdu'llâhi was entitled to one-fifth of the property in the Soudan. But as he himself had not much use for hides, skins, gum, ivory, and such like, he took his proportion in coin-after putting his own valuation upon his share.

"As the money the Khalîfa took from the Baitu'l -Mâl was hoarded and never came into circulation again, a kind of specie famîne presently set in. Attempts had been made in the early days of 'Abdu'llâhi's rule to produce a dollar with a fair modicum of silver in its composition ; but Nûru'l-Garfawî, Adlân's successor at the Baitu'l-Mâl, came to the conclusion evidently that a coin was but a mere token, and that, therefore, it was immaterial what it was made of, provided it carried some impression upon it. The quantity of silver in his dollars grew less and less, and even then was only represented by a light plating, which wore off in a few weeks' time. When people grumbled, he unblushingly issued copper dollars, pure and simple. All dollars were issued from the Baitu'l-Mâl as being of value equivalent to the silver dollar, and when the baser sort were refused, the Khalîfa decreed that all future offenders

should be punished by the confiscation of their property and the loss of a hand and foot. The merchants, though, were equal to the occasion. When an intending purchaser inquired about the price of an article, the vendor asked him in what coinage he intended to pay ; and the merchant then knew what price to ask.

"As the silver dollars gradually disappeared, the few remaining ones went up enormously in value, until in the end they were valued at fifty to sixty of the Baitu'l-Mâl coins : so that an article, which could be bought for one silver dollar, could not be purchased under fifty to sixty copper dollars. And, although a rate of exchange was forbidden, the Baitu'l-Mâl took advantage of the state of affairs by buying in the copper dollars, melting them up, recasting them, and then striking from a different die. These coins would be again issued at the value of a silver dollar and the remaining copper dollars in the town put out of circulation by the Baitu'l-Mâl refusing to receive them. To make matters worse, the die-cutters cut dies for themselves and their friends; and it was well worth the while of the false coiners to make a dollar of better metal than the Baitu'l-Mâl did, for these were accepted at a premium. The false coinage business flourished, until Ilyâs al-Kurdî, one of the best die-cutters, was permanently incapacitated by losing his right hand and left foot. And this punishment—for a time at least—acted as a deterrent to others, leaving the Baitu'l Mâl entire monopoly of coinage.

"Sovereigns might at any time be bought for a dollar, for the possessors were glad to get rid of them. Being found in possession of a gold coin denoted wealth, and many people attempting to change a gold piece returned home to find their hut in the hands of the Baitu'l-Mâl's officials, who would be searching for the remainder of the presumed gold hoard, and failing to find one, they would confiscate the goods and chattels of the indiscreet person. The trade with the Egyptian frontier, Suakim and Abyssinia was carried on through the medium of barter and the Austrian (Maria Theresa) trade dollar."

Tampering with the coinage and currency by monarchs and governments is, of course, a very old trick in the East and elsewhere. The proceedings of Muhammad Tughlaq of Dehli in 1330 A.D., were very like those of Bôdòp'ayâ and equally futile, for the reason that a grossly depreciated bullion currency cannot be endured by any people.[28] It was tried in Burma not only by Bôdóp'ayâ, but also by Pagàn Min in the Thayetmo District, and also by Thîbò Min as regards his brass coinage. Indo-Chinese governments would indeed seem to be incorrigible in this respect, for we find proceedings almost identical with those detailed above in the middle and end of the nineteenth century in Siam.

Holt Hallett in his *Thousand Miles on an Elephant in the Shan States*, pp. 164–65, says that up to 1865 cowries were in use in Siam as currency imported from Bombay. He then proceeds to tell us that "the late King of Siam determined to stop the use of cowries as currency and floated a token lead money. As he could place what value he liked upon the lead coins, he resolved that 64 large stamped pieces, or 128 small stamped pieces, should go to a tickal of silver, although the lead in them would cost less than half that amount.[29] The monetary transactions in lead would bring 100 per cent. profit to his treasury, and likewise—which he does not seem to have counted on—to the treasury of any one who thought fit to forge the coins. For some time the Government made a splendid profit, but some domestic and foreign forgers filled the market with their bogus issue. A great panic ensued among the people : the lead pieces were gradually refused and the Government had to stop coining them.

"Before the collapse of the lead coinage, the King determined further to replenish his treasury by another device. He issued copper coins. To ensure their being taken by the people, he declared cowries to be no longer current. As he did not call in the cowries and

[28] See Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 138 n., for an instance in the fourth century B.C. See also Terrien de Lacouperie, *Old Numerals and the Swanpan in China*, p. 14, for a very early attempt to make bullion exchangeable regardless of weight.

[29] The idea was that the royal stamp would increase the value of the coins in the eyes of the public. See *JASB., Proc.* for 1887, p. 148.

exchange them for the lead or copper coins, they became worthless to their possessors. This was a sad stroke of fortune for the poor people, but worse was to come when the present King of Siam [Chulalong Korn in 1890] came to the throne. Finding that forgery of the debased coinage was naturally prevalent, he reduced the currency value of the old lead coins by declaring 320 of them equal to a tickal considerably less than the actual value of the lead contained in them. The copper pieces he reduced to a fourth of the value that they had been issued at. The people thus lost the gross value of their cowries and were robbed of half the value of their lead coins and three-fourths the value of their copper ones."

The King of Cochin-China about 1812 seems to have been more fortunate in playing the same tricks with the currency, for Crawfurd, *Siam*, p. 518, tells us : "The price paid by the King for the metal, from which the zinc [cash] currency is struck is only twelve *kwans* the picul [current at about 17], and therefore an object of considerable revenue."

There is an interesting note on mint "profits" in the East, in the fourteenth century A.D., which is useful in this connection. Pegolotti (Yule, *Cathay*, vol. II, p. 298) in his handbook to the merchants of his day, says that at Tana (Azov) "the money current is in *sommi* and *aspen* of silver . . . . And if silver be sent to the Tana Mint, they coin 202 *aspens* from the *sommo*, but they pay you only 190, retaining the rest for the work of the mint and its profit. So a *sommo* at Tana is reckoned to be 190 *aspen*. And the *sommi* are ingots of silver of the alloy above mentioned, which are paid away by weight." This gives over 15 per cent. as mint profits.

The ways of the Kings were closely followed by their ministers and superior officers. Witness the following story from Malcom, *Travels*, vol. II, p. 252 : "The late war [of 1824] having introduced into Rangoon and its vicinity the [Company's] Bengal coins, the Woongyee [*wunjî*] engaged largely in making four-anna pieces, which were really worth but two. They were soon well-known, and only passed for their real value. The incensed great man sent the herald about the city, proclaiming that whoever objected to take them at their nominal value should suffer a specified fine and imprisonment. Business was for a while completely checked, and at length, after making some severe examples, he was obliged to let the people return to weighing their money as before."

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

TOWN-PLANNING IN ANCIENT INDIA, by BINODE BEHARI DUTT, M.A., Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla, 1925. Price Rs. 7-6-0.

This interesting book represents an attempt to reveal early Indo-Aryan rules and ideas on the subject of the planning and internal lay-out of towns and cities and villages, partly from the precepts of ancient Sanskrit treatises like the *Śilpa Śâstras*, and partly by inference from the arrangement of the older cities still existing in India. The author admits *ab initio* that in the complete absence of illustrative plans or diagrams of Indian towns, the conclusions arrived at in respect of ancient India must rest largely on theory and hypothesis. It is possible that the gradual excavation of such sites as that of Taxila may reveal important facts, corroborating the author's contentions on the reverse. On the other hand the recent discovery of very ancient town-sites in the Indus valley, which, so far as we know at present, were pre-Aryan, may eventually justify the assumption that the so-called Indo-Aryans borrowed many of their ideas on town-planning from an earlier Dravidian civilisation.

In discussing the origin of the Indo-Aryan city Mr. Dutt points out that in many cases the town in embryo was a market-place surrounded by hamlets, each of which ultimately became a separate ward of the finished city, and that in many modern Indian towns the *sahaganj* or general market is located at the centre of the occupied area. Even in a city like Bombay, developed in modern times under western influence, this process is observable, several of the modern municipal wards being called after the scattered villages out of which they have sprung. In other cases, however, like Conjeeveram, Tarakeshwar and Sitakund, the nucleus of the town was the shrine of some popular deity, which gradually attracted increasing numbers of settlers and devotees. Whenever possible, ancient towns were located on large rivers, like the Ganges and Indus, which could provide a supply of water, means of

defence, and a channel of communication for traders and others; and orthodox Hindu ideas demanded their construction always on the *right* bank. The violation of this rule in the case of a city like Calcutta is one proof that it was laid out under foreign influence. The confluence of two rivers was also a favourite site for a town.

The multiplication of cities in Ancient India was primarily due, according to Mr. Dutt, to the large number of dynasties of greater or less importance, each of whom required a fortified capital of its own, as far as possible centrally situated. He quotes Sukrâchârya's recommendations in regard to flora, fauna, and geographical situation, and the opinions of other old authorities regarding the lie of the ground, which, according to the *Śilpa Śâstras*, ought to slope downwards towards the north or east. In other words the town ditch, into which all impurities drained, was likely to prove less offensive on the north than on the south, while with an easterly declivity the town would secure full advantage of the morning sunshine. Even in the matter of town-planning the ancient fourfold social division was observed, for the soil was divided into four classes, according to colour, taste, smell, etc. The best kind—described in the *Râjavallabha* as white, fragrant, and agreeable to the taste—was naturally reserved for Brahman residents; the wretched Śudras had to put up with black soil, stinking like decayed fish. Ancient methods of testing the solidity of the ground are quoted from the *Matsya Purâṇa*, and these were followed by elaborate purificatory and consecratory rites, in which the plough played an important part. After that the the Indo-Aryan town planner was called upon to define the exact area, the circumference, and the chief internal sites of the new town.

A salient feature of ancient Indian towns was the moat and ramparts, owing to the fact that in primitive ages the citadel itself was the town. The description of Ayodhya, of Lanka and of Mathura indicates this condition; and it was not till a later age that the city outgrew the fort, which was often located at its centre. Elaborate instructions are given in the *Arthaśâstra* and other works regarding different types of forts, which depended as a rule rather on natural than on artificial defences, regarding the number and size of walls, battlements and ramparts, which might be quadrangular, square, circular or semi-lunar in shape, and regarding the number and size of moats. According to Megasthenes, Pâtaliputra had a succession of brick-lined moats, the waters of which were regulated by hidden sluices. Mr. Dutt declares that these moats were often converted into a form of urban adornment, as "the Aryan town-planners" cultivated lotuses and lilies in their stagnant waters; and he quotes as evidence of this fact a Tamil poem describing the Chola fort of Pukar. It is doubtful whether a purely Dravidian capital like Pukar can be justly offered as evidence of Aryan ideas of urban decoration; while the condition of such moats as have survived in India down to historical times induces doubts whether they were as delectable adjuncts of the city as the poetic imagination portrays them.

As to communications, Mr. Dutt has collected the statements of various ancient authorities as to the width of different classes of roads or streets. These were almost always arranged on the rectangular or chess-board plan, encircled by a large boulevard inside the walls, which followed the line of circumvallation. While it is difficult to decide how wide the streets were, it is obvious that they cannot have attained some of the widths laid down in Sanskrit lore; and if the streets of old and still existing Indian towns afford any guide, many of the thoroughfares of ancient Indo-Aryan towns must have been, according to modern ideas, very narrow. The hyperbole of the poets is not a wholly trustworthy guide in these matters of detail. Incidentally, Mr. Dutt disputes the meaning of "king's street" usually assigned to *râjapâtta, i.e.*, the street leading to or passing in front of the royal residence. On the authority of Pâṇini, he translates it "king among streets," and declares it signifies any large road. He also recalls the fact that the most ancient rules of Indian town-planning forbade any door or window to open on to a main thoroughfare, while the main roads through the wards were furnished at both ends with stout doors, which could be closed in seasons of disturbance. The *pols* of Ahmadabad offer a good example of this feature.

The author remarks that it was customary in Ancient India to perform the *pradakshina* of a cross-road, and that consequently all vehicles and pedestrians must have observed the rule of keeping to the left when crossing the open space at a junction. Traffic, in other words, followed "a clockwise motion", in the manner recently introduced at Hyde Park Corner and other crowded points in London. If this is so, one can only deplore the complete oblivion into which the *pradakshina* of open spaces at cross-roads has now fallen. The chief problem of traffic regulation in a modern Indian town is concerned with making vehicular and pedestrian traffic keep to the left, instead of wandering all over the road. There is much interesting information about ancient site-planning, which is illustrated by diagrams of the arrangements recommended in the *Śilpa Śâstras*. Broadly speaking, they all allow for the location of separate guilds or castes in different streets or wards—an arrangement which can be seen in most Indian towns to-day—and for the reservation of the best sites for the upper castes and classes. Some Sanskrit works enter into great detail, *e.g.*, the *Agni Purâṇa*, which places goldsmiths in the south-east corner of the town; dancers and harlots in the south; stage-managers and fishermen in the south-west; dealers in chariots, weapons, and cutlery in the west; liquor-merchants, officers and servants

in the north-west; and pious persons, such as Brahmans, Yatis, and Siddhas in the north. One wonders if the close association of officers and liquor-sellers was based upon practical experience. All Indian towns of to-day are characterised by house-grouping and *mahallas* or quarters, inhabited by distinct castes or classes; and this arrangement evidently dates back to early ages.

Mr. Dutt discusses the plan of the Indo-Aryan village, which was often a town in miniature and bore little or no resemblance to the village of modern Bengal: he enumerates certain ancient building rules; and he deals with many other points of interest. I am a little doubtful whether he is quite correct in his statement that Vijayanagar followed ancient Aryan traditions of town-planning; for Vijayanagar was emphatically a Dravidian city, the product of Dravidian culture, and governed according to Dravidian cultural ideas. Another suggestion of the author, which is likely, in my opinion, to be challenged is that, if Indian civilization ever breaks down, the Europeanised or Westernised Indian will in time become the Panchama class of the Christian community, just as the aboriginal tribes of South India became the 'untouchables' of Hindu society. The stalwarts of the modern councils and assemblies, who wear English dress, etc. will hardly swallow this proposition with equanimity; and personally, I do not believe that the denationalised Indian will ever suffer any such fate. Such things can only happen under the ægis of an uncontrolled priesthood.

Apart from these minor matters, which bear little upon the general tenour of the book, Mr. Dutt has written an erudite and interesting work, which throws much light upon a hitherto little known branch of Indian antiquities.

S. M. EDWARDES.

ON THE ADBHUTA RAMAYANA, by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, 1926.

This is another of Sir George Grierson's invaluable pamphlets. It deals with one of the *Râmâyaṇas* current in Northern India and attributed to Vâlmîki, being supplementary to his other well-known work of the same name on the Râma Legend. It greatly differs from the main work and gives accounts of "episodes that find no place" in it. It is also a Śâkta work, and Sîtâ the gracious became a Śakti and is turned into Dêvî the Terrible. It contains in fact "a mixture of Bhâkta-teaching with Śaivism, in which the salient features of both schools are combined" in equal proportions.

Sir George points out "the extraordinary power attributed to Indian Saints, such as Nârada," and that as a Saint's curse "can never be in vain" "the [Supreme] Deity has to accept the consequences with a smile." And it must be said that the Hindu Saints were very free with their curses. "In fact, in those mythical times, it must have been much safer to be a saint than to be a god." Sir George gives many instances, and the whole subject is of great interest, as explanatory of much that is still to be found in Indian legends. It is also of interest in relation to the possible origin of a great deal in the Hindu religion that is non-Aryan and presumably Far Eastern. Werner, in his authoritative *Myths and Legends of China*, claims that the Chinese legends are indigenous, and not connected with the rest of the world. I have had reason to study his book from end to end, and find much in it that it is difficult to believe is not Indian or Central Asian or even Near Eastern. However that may be, the Chinese Myths are full of immortals who are gods and immortals who are saints, and the power of the one differs not at all from the power of the other. They can all knock each other about. The question then is: where did the Indian ideas of the power of the saint come from? Was it introduced into the Indian Aryan, *i.e.*, Hindu mind by contact with Far Eastern races from beyond the Northern and Eastern boundaries?

Leaving this question there, we find a most interesting development of the idea of incarnation. Instance after instance is given of the incarnation of an immortal in a mortal body as the result of a Saint's curse. Apparently incarnated immortals are all "fallen angels." Nârada himself—a distinguished saintly curser—is so far human as to be jealous of a celestial musician Tumburu, the Gandharva, and has a bad time of it, which he richly deserved.

Various stories as to Sîtâ's origin are told in the *Adbhuta-Râmâyaṇa*, in the true folktale fashion found all over the world. Indeed, the more one dives into the tales about any popular hero or heorine, the more incompatible they become, but it is an odd view to represent Sîtâ as more powerful than her husband. Lastly, Sir George points out that this book is "an attempt to introduce the terrible cult of Śaiva Śâktism into the altogether alien soil of Vaishnavism. Its chief value is as a store-house of folk-legends."

We have also in the *Adbhuta-Râmâyaṇa* a story of the pregnancy of Mandôdarî, the wife of Râvaṇa, with Sîtâ, which is worth drawing attention to. Mandôdarî, out of jealousy, determines to kill herself. "With this object, she drinks the contents of the jar of Ṛiśis' blood, which [her husband] Râvaṇa has told her is a deadly poison. Instead of dying, she immediately becomes pregnant with Lakshmî [Sîtâ], who has been installed in the sprinkled milk by the power of Gṛitsamada's *Mantras*." Is such a story of Aryan origin? Or is it an absorption from Indian aborigines? The question is asked, because it has been observed that pregnancy amongst some savages is still not connected with sexual intercourse. The story looks as if there were once the same disability to connect cause and effect in India, and it seems hard to believe that so intelligent a people as the ancient Aryan-immigrants could have had such a disability.

R. C. TEMPLE.

FOLK-SONGS OF THE TULUVAS.

BY B. A. SALETORE, B.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from vol. LVI, p. 78.)

III. The Songs of the Panaras or the Nalka People.

The Song in Tulu.

Yenkule Mâdirâ. Vo popenadakedâ,
Paravupijana sayyanda !
Yenkuḷeye Madimâye popina nadakeḍa kaḍipu panki sayyanda.
Yenkuḷena Madimâye tûnaga mûḍâyi Surya uttanange ;
Yenkuḷena Madimâḷena moṇe tûnaga paḍḍâyi Sandre beḷani lekka.
Yî bul tonḍu pôpedâye ?
Nina Appelekha Mâmi unḍu, dâye buḷ pâ ?
Nina Amma lekka Sammale unḍu, bulpâḍagâ !
Nina Tage lekka Bâve unḍu, buḷpâdagâ !
Nina Maitini lekka Megge unḍu, dâye buḷpa ?
Kamberda kurvedu târayida tunḍu ulidanda yenda buḷpana ?
Mittantyada barchane orinḍ yenda buḷipaḍâ !

Translation.

(Oh !) Our Mâdira (dance) ! Oh ! In the movement of our limbs,
A cautious ant would not die !
A soft bird would not die under the gait of our Bridegroom !
When we look at our Bridegroom, he looks like the rising eastern Sun !
When we look at the face of our Bride, it is like the splendid Western Moon !
Oh ! Why do you go on crying ?
You have a Mother-in-law like a Mother, why do you weep ?
You have a Father-in-law like a Father, (Oh) do not weep !
You have a Brother-in-law like an elder Brother, (Oh) do not weep !
You have a younger Brother-in-law like your younger Brother, (Oh) why do you weep ?
Is it because some pieces of coconut have been left in the *kamberda* basket that you weep
Is it because the comb has been left on the lintel that you weep ?

Note:—This song is sung by the Nalke or Panara class of devil-dancers during their marriage ceremony. Mâdira is the name given to a kind of dance.

IV. The Songs of the Bâkuda Holeyas.

1. *The Song in Tulu.*

Le le le le le lâ Dâre âpunḍu baideralâ (*Chorus*)
Oraṇa binnera baiderala vovulu.
Gandada parimaḷa popundu.
Yâradi gunḍoḍu Madimâḷa,
Madegatti illada Madimâye.
Dâre âpunḍu Nandere Gôḷigâ, dâre âpunḍu.
Dikkaḷe Dêyigâ dêse apunḍu.
Nandare Gôḷi (da) gâ Dâre apunḍu. (*Chorus*)
Yerunḍu, yerunḍu, yeru panaḍâ ?
Aṇjevu yerukka singareranḍa ;
Poṇjevu yerukka peratteranda ;
Goṇaje j(y)eru nîraparipunḍu. (*Chorus*)
Tumbudunḍu poṇṇu kalikandela,
Tattondunḍu tattondundu poṇṇu nîra kandelâ.
Kali kandela dakinavuḷu kalyâtâ ;
Nîra kandela dakinavulu nîryatâ.

Translation.

Le le le le le lâ. The wedding-ceremony is being held ! (And) They have come—
The respectable relations have come in ranks, (Oh) from where !
To them is carried the sandal-paste.
The Bride is from the Yâradi dale,
The Bridegroom is from the screened house.
Nandera Gôḷigâ is having the sacred ceremony,
(And) the bride Deyigâ is having the sacred rice put upon her :
Nandera Gôḷigâ is having his wedding-ceremony. (*Chorus*)
" We have buffaloes ! We have buffaloes !" Shall we say ?
(Then) let the he-buffaloes be adorned ;
(And) the she-buffaloes be filled with milk ;
(And) the young ones be allowed to drink water. (*Chorus*)
(Oh) the bride is carrying a pitcher of toddy !
(And) she is carrying a pitcher of water !
And where the pot of toddy is thrown down, there let there be play with stones !
And where the pot of water is thrown down, there let there be play with water!
(*Chorus*)

Note :—The term Bâkuḍa means a husband. The Bâkuḍas, however, form a separate class of Holeyas. It is difficult to reconcile the latter half of the above poem with the former. The song was got from a Bâkuḍa Holeya himself.

2. *The songs in Tulu.*

Le le le le le lâ kinni Madimâye !
Konḍâṭadâ mage, kinni Madimâye !
Bâle piriyoḍu ponnu sinte putyanḍâ.
Ponnu tûda badda âvoḍâ
Yêrena magalâ andâ.
Sammerena magala andada,
Pâjoru maitedi.
Urusangatira uḷḷayanâ sâlakatta
Dibbana povoḍe.
Iliyanda ûruga dibbana povoḍe !
Nikka aita balimana.
Nikka bangarina balenâ,
Nikka mungâyi saropoḷi,
Nikka boḷḷi kalla mundasa,
Nikka kâraga sammaya,
Dombugu kalkude.

Translation.

Le le le le le lâ. Oh The young Bridegroom !
Oh ! The young Bridegroom is a fondled child !
In his infancy he fell a prey to love.
" Having seen the girl, I must be bound," he thought.
" Whose daughter is she ?" he questioned.
She is the daughter of Sammera,
(And) the sister-in-law of Pâjoru.
Accompanied by the men of caste and those of the land-lord,
Should the bridal-party go.
The marriage party is to go to a country that is foreign.
(But) why should you (the bridegroom) be concerned with it ?
(For) you will get bracelets of gold,
(And) you will get bracelets for the fore-arm,
(And) you will get a turban with edges that will look like silver,
(And) you will get a pair of shoes,
And you will get an umbrella to protect you from the sun.

Note :—The above two are Bâkuḍa marriage songs. The first one is sung during the Dâre ceremony when they pour the sacred water ; and the second when the ceremony is over.

A POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION OF THE MOUNT DEVAGIRI MENTIONED IN KALIDASA'S 'MEGHADUTA.'

BY A. S. BHANDARKAR, B.A., (HARVARD).

ABOUT six miles due south-east of Indore there is a group of four mountains one of which is known as Devagurâḍâ. There is a small village on its slope and two temples, one of which, the bigger one, is said to have been built by Ahalyâbâî Holkar (1767–1795). It does not seem likely, however, that she should have built a new temple of such dimensions in an obscure village, and there is ample evidence to show that it must be a renovation or reconstruction of an older temple or part of it in ruins. There are, for instance, stray relics in stone in the immediate neighbourhood within a few hundred yards of the temple, and the photographs of three such are given herewith. One of them looks like a *vṛindâvana*, is hollow inside only at the top and has niches at the sides. Another representing one of a similar group has a Śiva's *piṇḍî* and his sacred bull, Nandi, sculptured on it. The nail-shaped decoration that is seen here borders also the high plinth of the bigger temple and is likewise found on the walls of a few huts, both of which must be thus evidently built or constructed, at least partly, from the ruins of a temple, and the combination of the old and new structure can be distinctly distinguished in some cases. Still another relic has marks of two footprints in the middle, with the sun and the moon to the left and right of them ; some other marks can be discerned below, but they are indistinct. The sun and the moon may respectively be the symbols of Sûryavaṁśî and Somavaṁśî Kshatriyas who claim descent from them. To the right of the larger temple there is a much smaller one, built of uncarved stone, with two storeys, the lower of which is several feet below the ground while the upper one is partly so. There are bricks only in the roof of the upper storey, which thus shows its recent origin. This temple, too, bespeaks the existence of an ancient temple with its base below the present ground level, for, it is not likely that anybody would ever excavate, much less build a new temple below the ground. There is now a modern Śiva's *piṇḍî* in the temple, and four cemented pillars, possibly of comparatively recent date, are in front. They however look much older than the date of reconstruction of either of the temples, as only two of them are erect, the third buried firmly in a slanting position almost touching the ground, while the fourth is lying prostrate upon it. These pillars have two iron cores in each of them. The picture of the temple shows the upper storey and the opening of the stone stair-way leading below to the lower one. The long-prevalent custom, existing since days long before Ahalyâbâî of holding an annual fair at the village on the Śivarâtri day also speaks of a whilom sacredness of the place in connection with the god Śiva. Quarries of stone and chalk, important building materials, are found on the mountain.

Kâlidâsa mentions in his *Meghadûta* a mountain named Devagiri (*Devapûrvaṁgirim*). This, according to the poetic context, must be situated somewhere between the Śiprâ and the Chambal or ancient Charmaṇvatî, which is described by the poet as the fame incarnate of Rantideva, once king of the Daśapura that has been identified with modern Dasor in the district of Mandasor. This at once puts out of court the claim for identification with it of Daulatabad, with its ancient name Devagiri, and the capital of the Yâdavas from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, or the village named Devgaḍ about sixty miles to the south-west of Jhansi mentioned by Dr. Fleet in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III. "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings." After arriving at Vidiśâ, or modern Bhilsâ, and visiting the mountain named Nichais, the poet instructs the Cloud through the mouth of the Yakṣa to abandon his proper course northwards for the special purpose of seeing Ujjain, and thus would make the Cloud take a south-westerly course, more to the west than south. In this journey it comes across the following rivers in succession :—(1) The Nirvindhya which, one thinks, must be identical either with the Pârvatî, or the Pârvân, or any one of their small tributaries. (2) The Sindhu, known now as the Kâlî Sindh. The poet compares her scanty waters to a braid of hair, which suggests their dark colour. Mallinâtha, the commentator, not being familiar with the country like the poet, was presumably ignorant of this river,

and hence he prefers the alternative reading *asau-attitasya* to *tâm-attitasya*, thus taking the word *Sindhu* as a common noun referring to the river Nirvindhyâ described by the poet in the preceding verse. (3) The Siprâ with Ujjain on its bank. (4) The Gandhavatî, a tributary of the Siprâ, with the temple of Mahâkâla which still exists there. (5) The Gambhîra, identified with the modern Gambhîr. (6) The Chambal. The order of the rivers is only accurate going westwards as they flow north to join the Chambal. The poet mentions the mountain Devagiri with its temple of Skanda, Siva's son, as situate between the last two rivers and this, pretty accurately, is the position of Devagurâḍâ. This mountain with the temples and relics described above is, no doubt, slightly east of Ujjain, but as it is about forty miles to the south* of it, and as the Siprâ, on whose bank the city stands, takes its rise to the east of Indore and also the mountain, it is natural that the Cloud coming from the north-east would visit Ujjain first; more so, as this was the special object of sight for which it had turned from its proper path. The only other place which claims one's attention with respect to the identification is Devgaḍ a few miles to the south-west of Narsingaḍ and about fifty-five miles almost due west of Bhilsâ, but it does not satisfy the conditions of the position of Devagiri as given in the context and noted above. The writer does not know whether there is a mountain of that or similar name in the town and also a temple, intact or in ruins, there ; if not, it is quite probable that Devagiri is no other mountain than Devagurâḍâ itself. The philological corruption of the name might be due to the presence of several other villages round about whose names also end in the termination *gurâḍâ*, meaning possibly the machine for the extraction of sugar-cane juice. If our identification be correct, and excavations bring any dated inscription, it would help us to fix the date of the poet Kâlidâsa himself. At any rate, excavations at Devagurâḍâ, one hopes, might lead to interesting discoveries.

MALABAR MISCELLANY.[1]

By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

V. A Râjasiṁha Inscription at Tâḷêkkâḍ in Cochin.

A very large granite slab, 74" × 56", inscribed on both faces, has long been lying unknown[2] even to the Cochin Government Archæologist, although it has been all along in a conspicuous place at the foot of the open-air cross in front of the Roman Catholic Church at Tâḷêkkâṭe[3] in the Cochin State, on the west coast of South India. About two years ago, on 13th June 1925, the existence of this important epigraph was brought to my notice, and on 19th *idem* two inked estampages of the inscription on the obverse—the subject of this article—were handed to me for decipherment. They were not clear at all. Still the name Râjasiṁha Perumân Aṭikaḷ, which could be easily deciphered, and the palæographic forms of the characters at once gave me some idea of the importance of the record. But I had to wait impatiently for clear copies until 29th September 1926, when I received a good estampage of the first five lines, prepared by my friend Mr. M. P. Varkki in accordance with my instructions. Further copies also followed from the same source, together with an account (see below) of the interesting vicissitudes of the inscribed slab. In the issue of the daily newspaper, *The Western Star* (Trivandrum) for 31st December 1926, I published an article[4] on this record, which included a tentative translation of the deciphered portion of it, with a number of lacunae. The reading and translation given below are complete. *Vide* facsimile facing page 30.

* The Cloud, however, maintains a northerly course apparently after leaving Ujjain.—C.E.A.W.O., *Jt. Editor.*

1 Continued from *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LIII, p. 97.

2 Unfortunately, the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., who (from 9th to 23rd February, 1924) ransacked Cochin and its neighbourhood for pre-Portuguese Christian antiquities, did not visit the Tâḷêkkâḍ Church.

3 E with a dot below has the sound of *e* in mother. Tâḷêkkâḍ is the pronunciation of the Anglicised form Thazhekkad. The place is about 7½ miles North-East of the well-known Cranganore.

4 This article entitled 'Rajasimha ; A New Perumal' was soon reproduced in *The Hindu* of Madras and *The Times of India*, Bombay.

THE RELICS AND TEMPLE NEAR MOUNT DEVAGIRI

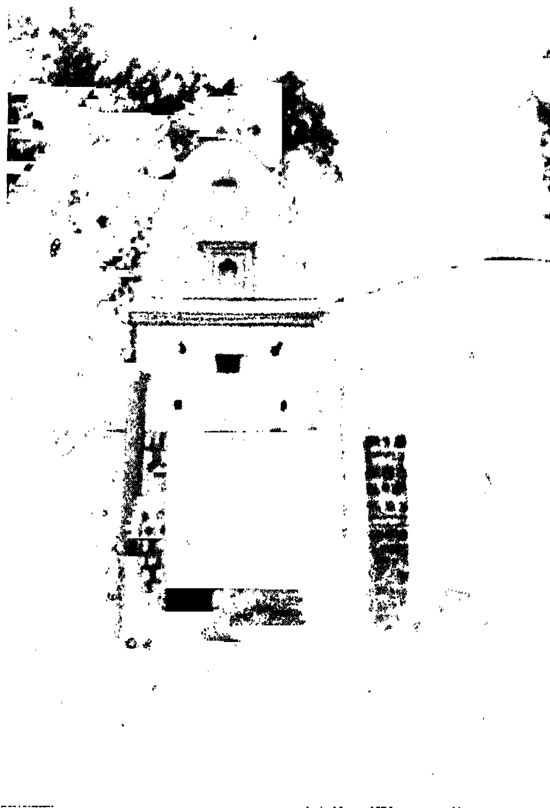


FIG. 1.—THE SMALLER TEMPLE BUILT OF STONE WITH LOWER STOREY BELOW THE PRESENT GROUND



FIG. 2.—A RELIC WHICH LOOKS LIKE A *vrindávana*.

THE RELICS AND TEMPLE NEAR MOUNT DEVAGIRI

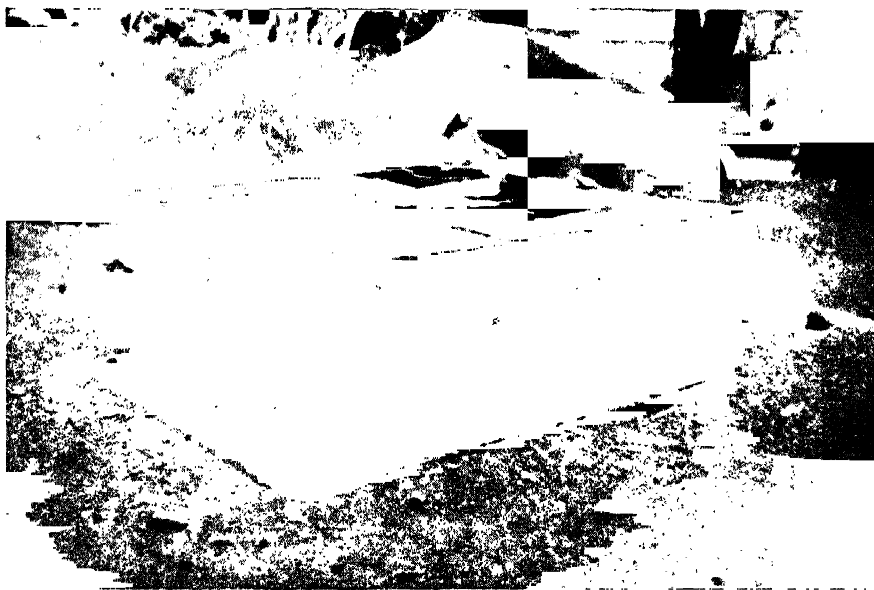


FIG. 3 – A RELIC WITH SHIVALINGA AND NANDI SCULPTURED UPON IT.



FIG. 4.—A RELIC WITH EMBLEMATIC MARKS OF FOOTPRINTS AND THE SUN AND THE MOON ON EITHER SIDE

Lines.   TEXT. [5]

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி. ஸ்ரீ. இராயசிங்கப் பெருமானடி
2. களாருளால்[6] தாழைக்காட்டுக் கமைக்கப்பட்ட வாணிகர்க்
3. கு ஊரார் அவிரோதத்தாற் பீடிகை கட்டுவான் அமைத்த இ
4. டம் :—[7] சிறுபள்ளி அதிரில் மேக்குப், பேராலில் வடக்
5. குக், களப்பள்ளியிற் கிழக்கு, கீழ்த் திருக்கோயிற்றேவர்
6. பூமிக்குத்தெற்கு. இதினகத்து ஊராளர் தடுக்கவுந்தடு
7. மாறவும் பீடிகை கட்டிலுங், தந்தையைய்க்கொ
8. ன்று தாயைக் களத்திரம் வைச்சாராவோ.
9. இருபதின்கோல் கொட்டிற்கு பதிறெழி[8] நெய் கொடுப்பது
10. பாட்டமாளர் எடுத்துகொள்வித. அந்நால்வருஞ்சொ
11. ன்ற இறையுந்திறையுங் கொள்வது. இவகள் சென்று
12. விலையிட்ட சரக்கெல்லாருங் கொள்வது.[9]

(The remaining lines—13 to 22—are in small characters.)

13. இவ்வஞ்ச வாணியரில் மனிக்கிராமத்தாரான[10] சாத்தம்படுகனும்
14. இரவி கொத்தனு[11] இவர்களிருவர்க்கு மிரண்டுமுறிப் பீடிகையா
15. லுங் நெய்யில்லை, இரண்டுகுடியிலிருப் ஆ[12]ர்க்கு எப்பேர்ப்பட்ட இ
16. றையுமில்லை. இக்கச்சத்திற் குடி
17. க்கு பந்தல்க் காணமுங் தட்டாரக்கூ
18. லியுமில்லை. கச்சத்தில்க்கூடி
19. உல்கும் ஒணநெல்லும் படைவிளிநெல்லுங் கொடுக்கக்கட
20. வர். தட்டாரக்கூலியும் உல்கும் அனுபந்தஞ் செய்து (க or) நடத்தும்
21. வன்முதல் கோயில் முதல் கச்சத்தில்க் குடியுடைய பெண்ணு
22. ம் பிள்ளையு மதன்க்கு[13] இடமுங் கச்சத்தோடொக்கும்.

MORTISE.

TRANSLATION.

"Hail! Prosperity!

"The site granted without demur for putting up shops, by the villagers to the merchants appointed for Tâḻeikkâṭu by command of the feet[14] of Emperor[15] Râjasimha :—(The land)

west of the Chiṟupaḷḷi boundary,
north of the banyan tree,
east of Kaḷappaḷḷi,
south of the land belonging to the god of Kiḻttirukkoil (temple).

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[5] The inscription is in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters, with two words at the beginning in Grantha characters. The transcript here is in Grantha and Tamil.

[6] Read—ளருளால் Symbols 2 to 5 are not quite distinct, owing to the confusion caused by over-writing. ள்க்குப seems to have been written first.

[7] Of course the punctuation marks, colon, dash, full stop, comma, etc., and the spacing are not in the original.

[8] The two symbols after பதி are disfigured by over-writing.

[9] There are three indistinct symbols here at the end of the line, after the close of the sentence.

[10] ன is inscribed over a வோ, and there is what seems to be a small letter after it.

[11] Read கொத்தனும். The sign of o in கொ is omitted in the original. It may be read also as சாத்தனு.

[12] Read—ப்பார்க்கு.

[13] These three symbols, left out by inadvertance from line 22, are inserted below the next two letters (இட) of the line.

[14] Feet is the primary meaning of the original *aṭikal*, which in its secondary sense is a term of respect applied in Malayalam and Tamil to gods, kings, sages, preceptors, monks, elders, etc. The idea seems to be that those who address, or refer to, them are worthy to mention only the feet of those great personages. ***Pâdâh***, meaning feet, is used in Sanskrit for the same purpose. Cf. *tâtapâdâh* respected father, *Kumârila-pâdâh*, honoured Kumârila.

[15] This Rajasimha was a Chêramân Perumâḷ, *i.e.*, a Chera king or emperor of Malabar who had several kings under him.

"If the village headmen[16] cause hindrance or confusion or put up shops within these (bounds), they will be like those who kill their father and take the mother to wife[17]. The rent collectors[18] shall take for themselves the ten *nâlis* (measures) of *ghî* paid (as tax) on a house of twenty *kôl* (size)[19]. Such taxes and rates shall be collected as those four (rent collectors) declare. All shall purchase such goods as these go and fix the price of[20].

"Châttan Paṭukan and Iravi Kottan,[21] these two who are Maṇigrâmattâr[22] among these allotted merchants, have (*i.e.*, need pay) no *ghî* for the two rooms of shop (owned by them). Those belonging to the (above-mentioned) two families need pay no sort of taxes.[23]

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16 These headmen were Hindus, most probably Nampûri Brâhmans of Tâḷêkkâd. Such headmen are now known as *ûrâṇmakkâr*, a word akin to *ûrâḷar* of this document.

17 An imprecation commonly found in inscriptions, calling down upon the offender the divine punishment due to wilful patricide and incest.

18 These must have been four men selected from among the new colony of Christian merchants, for collecting rates and taxes from the Christian settlers.

19 One *kôl* = 28 inches. Primarily English yard, rod, pole and perch; Sanskrit *daṇḍa*; Portuguese *vâra* (bar), and Malayalam *kôl* have the same meaning, although they represent different measures of length. Portuguese *vâra* has become a regular Malayalam word, meaning a yard (length).

A house of 20 *kôl* size is one the total length of the four side beams of which is so many *kôls*.

20 In another Malabar Christian document, the Quilon Church plates, fascicle 2, of about 880 A.D., the Maṇigrâmam Christians are authorized to fix the price of goods for sale.

21 This name occurs in the form Iravi Korttan in a later Malabar Christian document, the Vira Raghava plate of 1320 A.D. The two Iravi Kottans cannot be one and the same person.

The first word in Iravi Kottan is the common Hindu name Iravi, from Sanskrit Ravi (=the sun), while the second (Kottan) appears to be related to Arabic and Persian Kôtwâl (a police officer) and to mean a market sergeant.

The first word in Châttan Paṭukan is the common Hindu name Châttan, from Śanskrit Sâstâ, the name of a Hindu god. The second word Paṭukan is not an ordinary proper name. Like Kottan it may be an official designation.

Châttan and Iravi, though Christians, retain Hindu names. No wonder. Until very recent times the Malabar Christians, the majority of whom are descendants of ancient converts from Hinduism, have been retaining many of the local Hindu manners and customs.

22 Maṇigrâmattâr, in modern Malayalam Maṇigrâmakkâr, in this context undoubtedly signifies headship of the new colony of Christian merchants brought to Tâḷêkkâd. This supports the view expressed by the Editor in *Ind. Ant.*, 1924, p. 261, footnote, that the term Maṇigrâmam "seems to imply headship of the community of jewellers and no more."

Originally Maṇigrâmam must have meant the *grâmaṇi* or head of the class of jewellers called Maṇichchetti or Peruñchetti. There is a class of Śûdras in Quilon (in Travancore) called Maṇigrâmakkâr, individual members of which are called in old records Maṇi Nârâyaṇan, Maṇi Śaṅkaran, Maṇi Râman, etc. Maṇi so-and-so simply means so-and-so of the caste of jewel merchants, and has no reference to his religious persuasion.

How then did each and every member of the Maṇigrâmam community of Quilon come to be called a 'Maṇigrâmakkâran'—a head of the jeweller caste or community? It is in perfect accord with a Malabar practice by which titles of headmen are in course of time appropriated by a whole community or caste. There is, for instance, a caste of fishermen called *arasar* or *arayar* (=king). But not all fishermen of that community are descended from ancient kings or heads of fisherfolk. Taṇṭân is now the name of a Malabar caste, but originally it meant one with the staff of authority granted by the king. Nâyar (ordinarily spelt Nair) has become the name of a caste in Malabar, but originally only those were Nâyars (*i.e.*, leaders of armies) on whom the king specially conferred that title along with a sword and silk, the insignia of that office.

It is in conformity with this practice that Maṇigrâmam meaning head of the community of jewel merchants came to be the common property of Tom, Dick and Harry among those merchants.

23 For similar exemption from payment of taxes, granted to some Malabar Christians see their copper-plate grants. The Cochin Jewish plate also grants such concessions to the Jew Joseph Rabban and his descendants.

"Those who settle down in accordance with this arrangement have (*i.e.*, need pay) neither booth-tax[24] nor washerman-tax[25]. Agreeably to this arrangement they are bound to pay customs duty, and paddy for the Ôṇam[26] (festival) and for military recruitment.

"The women and children who have settled down in conformity with the first[27] arrangement or the Vanmutalkôyil[28] (temple) as well as the site pertaining to that arrangement, by which washerman-tax and customs duty have to be paid, will conform to the (present)[29] arrangement."

We give below Mr. M. P. Varkki's interesting account of Tâḷêkkâd, its church and the inscribed stone there.

"Tâḷêkkâd means the lower forest. Not long ago it was more or less the undisputed domain of many kinds of wild animals, but man is either extirpating them or driving them farther inland. On the Cochin State Railway, extending from Shornur to Ernakulam, there is a station called Irinjâlakkuda, which is five miles to the east of the town of that name. A mile south-west of the railway station is the Tâḷêkkâd Roman Catholic Church, and close to it, say a hundred yards away, is the Tâḷêkkâd Hindu temple.

"In olden times there flourished in Tâḷêkkâd a well-known, influential and affluent Syrian Christian family of the name of Tâḷêkkâd. In fact the members of it were the lords of the place. For more than ten[30] miles round there was no church, and the parish Church of the family was at Mûḷikkuḷam in Travancore, which is twelve miles south-east of Tâḷêkkâd. It may be noted in passing that within a radius of twelve miles from Tâḷêkkâd there are at present at least thirty churches! But at the time of which we are writing Mûḷikkuḷam was the nearest church in existence.

"The old lady of the house of Tâḷêkkâd used invariably to go to Mûḷikkuḷam every Sunday to attend divine service there. For this purpose a special conveyance called *mañchal* in Malayalam was used. Being old she used to lean on the chancel rails for support. Once a few naughty boys were occupying the place usually occupied by the old lady. When asked by the lady's retainers to give room, they impudently replied that the church was the common property of all and that the lady, however eminent she might be, had no special claim to any portion of the church. This greatly irritated the old lady, who on her return home told her son the lord of Tâḷêkkâd, that she would never again go to Mûḷikkuḷam and that he should make the necessary arrangements so that she might attend Sunday service without interruption.

24 Booth-tax may be the tax on temporary sheds or pavilions put up in connection with marriage and other festivities.

25 Washerman-tax may be the tax for the new Christian settlers' utilizing the services of the washermen of Tâḷêkkâd. The original word may also be translated goldsmith-tax.

26 Ôṇam from Sanskrit Śrâvaṇam is a grand Malabar festival held in the month of Śrâvaṇam (July-August).

27 This very probably refers to a previous colony of Christian merchants brought to the street near the Veṇmutla temple.

28 The reading of this place-name is doubtful.

29 The words within brackets have nothing corresponding to them in the original.

30 That means that there was then no church at Cranganore, about 7½ miles from Tâḷêkkâd. In 1510 Barbosa said that the St. Thomas Christians "have there a Church of St. Thomas, and another of Our Lady, and are very devout Christians, only they are deficient in doctrine." Some years later the town of Cranganore was burned down, and the Christians fled to different places and settled down there. An old Malayalam song refers to this incident in these words:

> "The plundering Nairs joined together, entered the town (of Cranganore).
> Set fire to the Church and destroyed it, and burned the town that day.
> That day three good princes were killed in battle.
> In distress we came to the good village,
> And by St. Thomas' grace built a church therein (in Kaṭutturutti).
> By the grace of God we settled down in Kaṭutturutti."

Three Cochin princes died the same day in battle with the Zamorin in 1502, but the reference in the above song appears to be to a similar death of three Cochin princes the same day in battle on 27th January 1565.

" Her son was in a great predicament. To take his mother to a more distant church was out of the question. To build a church in Tâḷêkkâd in a week was an impossibility. He, therefore, immediately approached the ecclesiastical authorities at Aṅkamâli (not far away) and got sanction for divine service being performed in Tâḷêkkâd Kayyâla. (*Kayyâla* is an outer room attached to the main building). Things went on like that for a long time, and negotiations with the neighbouring temple authorities for the erection of a church in Tâḷêkkâd proved abortive.

" But some time after the Synod of Diamper, A.D. 1599, as a preliminary to the erection of a church, the Tâḷêkkâd people resolved to raise a large granite cross close to the temple. Screens were put up on the pretence of digging a well, and a conical masonry platform was finished without the least suspicion being aroused in the minds of the neighbouring Hindus. The present granite cross several feet high was constructed in the midst of the forest and brought to the place at dead of night. One fine morning the Hindu population of Tâḷêkkâd and more particularly the temple authorities were seized with consternation on seeing a cross erected close to their temple.

" The temple authorities met and resolved to demolish the cross. For this purpose a huge elephant belonging to one of the managers of the temple was brought to the place. The excitement among both Christians and Hindus was great, and riot and bloodshed would have immediately ensued but for a miraculous divine intervention. When the elephant charged the platform on which the cross stood, both the big, powerful tusks of the animal entered into it several inches deep. But lo ! the tusks could not be withdrawn, and the elephant began to writhe in agony. The mahouts tried their best, but the beast could not move and the tusks got stuck[31] in the pedestal. A few hours passed in this awkward manner, and the elephant showed signs of dropping down out of sheer exhaustion.

" The Christians fell on their knees and praised God for the miracle, while the learned among the Hindus began to put their heads together and discuss how to withdraw from the scene without humiliation. As usual the Veḷichchappâd (or oracle attached to the temple) appeared and proclaimed that unless the valued stone inside the temple, bearing the present inscription is given to the cross as an offering, it would be impossible for the elephant to draw out its tusks.

" To make the best of a bad business, the Hindus yielded, and the high priest vowed before the cross that the stone would be offered to it. The elephant immediately drew out its tusks. The next day the same elephant dragged the stone in question to the foot of the cross and left it there. It now lies in the same position, touching the western base of the masonry pedestal.

" All objections from the Hindus having been thus removed, a small church was erected on the eastern side of the cross, the church facing westward[32] as is the case with all the Malabar Churches of the pre-Portuguese period. The present beautiful church was subsequently reared on the old site. The Tâḷêkkâd family has long become extinct.

" The church was dedicated to the cross, and an annual festival used to be celebrated on the day of the Invention of the Cross by Queen Helena. But by a certain feat the date has since been changed[33] into the anniversary of St. Sebastian. This annual festival attracts large crowds, and the total of the yearly offerings has in some years mounted to Rs. 6,000. The average income may be said to be Rs. 4,000." [M. P. Varkki, 16th November 1926.]

31 A very similar incident is related in connection with an attempt by Hindus to break open the door of the Kuṛavalangâd Church in North Travancore. The elephant's tusks were in this case caught in the wooden panel of the door. The panel must be assumed to have been wondrous thick and strong, or miracles in those days were as plentiful as gooseberries. Legend too repeats itself.

32 According to the practice of the Syrian Church, a church must be built east and west, the chancel being in the east.

33 The old Holy Cross Church at Muṭṭuchiṛa is now St. Antony's, and the Holy Ghost Church there was about three years ago re-named St. Francis'. Such changes are very common.

Now the question is whether the merchants mentioned in this inscription were Christians or not. They are designated as *vâṇikar* in line 2, and again as *vâṇiyar* in line 13 of the original. These words come from Sanskrit *vâṇija*,[34] a merchant, and were applied in old Malayalam to traders in general and to members of a Hindu trader caste. In modern Malayalam the words signify only members of the Hindu caste of oilmen from the Tamil or Koṅkaṇa country (the Konkan).

But the *vâṇiyar* of the present record must have been Christians. The following facts lend support to this view.

(1) The St. Thomas Christians of Iriñjâlakkuḍa and other places close to Tâḷêkkâḍ are still addressed or referred to by non-Christians as Châkkô (= Jacob) Cheṭṭi, Varkki (= George) Cheṭṭi, Ayppu (= Joseph) Cheṭṭi, etc. And *cheṭṭi*, like *vâṇiyan* formerly meant both a trader in general and a member of a Hindu trader caste, but now means only the latter, except when added to the names of Christians as above. The word *vâṇiyar* of the inscription could very well be replaced by *cheṭṭi* without altering the sense of the two passages in which it occurs. For *cheṭṭi* and *vâṇiyan* were almost synonyms, and Châkkô Cheṭṭi is almost the same as Châkkô Vâṇiyan.

(2) There was no indigenous trader caste in old Malabar, and it was the custom there in olden times for Hindu kings, chiefs and villagers to construct streets and sometimes churches also, and invite the St. Thomas Christians—either indigenous or foreign or both—to go and settle down there for trade.

Some of these old Christian streets and their traditional history still survive, and one remarkable thing about them is that they are almost invariably very close to Hindu temples. The chief reason for this proximity is that the Hindu population for whose benefit the traders were brought, lived close to their temple.

Another reason is that for removing conventional or ceremonial pollution from oil, *ghî*, honey, molasses, and other provisions taken to a temple, it was enjoined by Malabar custom that a St. Thomas Christian should touch them. To European Christians this may sound strange or appear untrue. But the custom still prevails in some places in Malabar, and the present writer himself in his boyhood about thirty years ago, used to be asked by Hindu temple servants to touch conventionally polluted provisions intended for the Châttaṅkuḷaṅṅara temple about a stone's throw from his house. It has to be remarked also that the present writer's was the only Christian house near that temple in the midst of a vast Hindu population.

A third reason why St. Thomas Christian streets were located very close to temples is that these Christians were converts from non-polluting high caste Hindus, and differed little from them in manners and customs as well as in names and dress.

That there were even inter-marriages between the St. Thomas Christians and the Hindu Nairs, is evidenced by the following passages kindly supplied by Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., from two unpublished letters in Spanish written from Cochin very early in A.D. 1579 by Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J., who, to judge from his letters, was a keen observer of Malabar manners and customs.

(1) "And that both" (the wives of Thomas Cananeo) "were noble, at least Nayr, women is proved by the custom existing in this Malavar, that there is no pollution between the Christians of St. Thomas and the Nayres, nor penalty of death, if there are between them *marriages* [*italics* mine] or friendship, all of which arises, according to the custom of the country, for castes higher or lower than these two."—(*Cf.* fol. 149r, MS. XII of the Society of Jesus).

(2) Again in his letter dated Cochin, 12th January 1579, the Father almost reiterates the same thing: "And that both were noble, at least Nayr, women is proved by the custom existing in this Malavar that there is no pollution between these Christians and the Nayres,

[34] This word appears as *banian* and *banyan* in English, *banian* in Portuguese, and *banyân* in Arabic.

nor penalty of death, if there be marriage or friendship, whereas, according to the custom of the land, there is, if they communicate, stay, or marry with other castes higher or lower than custom allows to them."—Fol. lv—2r. of a MS. belonging to the Society of Jesus (*Goan. Malab. Ep.*, 1570-79, Goa, 12).

(3) As stated in Mr. Varkki's account reproduced above the oracle of the Tâḷêkkâd temple declared the inscribed stone a fitting offering for the cross. That indicates that it was well known in Tâḷêkkâd that the inscription had some connection with the Christians of the place.

My impression is that the present inscription is only a public copy on stone, of an original copper-plate document given to the Christian settlers. The original is lost or missing. The earliest of the Malabar Christian copper-plate grants—the Thomas Cana plates of 345 A.D.—had a public copy on stone set up at the northern gate of the Cranganore temple.

(4) Iravi Kottan appears as Maṇigrâmam or head of the merchants here. And we know from the Kottayam plate of Vîra Râghava that Iravi Kottan was a Christian name. Of course, this particular argument will have to be ruled out of court if the reading of the name is taken to be Iravi Châttan as suggested in footnote 11. But it has to be remembered that the indigenous Christians of old Malabar most probably retained their former Hindu names.

A scrutiny of the characters of this inscription inclines me to the opinion that the record is of the period 8th-10th century A.D. So the Râjasiṁha of this epigraph cannot be identical with the Chêra king Râjasiṁha[35], who was presumably a feudatory of the Chôḷa viceroy Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Chôḷa-Pâṇḍya, who flourished from about A.D. 1020-1 to about 1043-4.

There is a Cheṅṅar or Chiṅṅar Perumâḷ of Malabar mentioned in the *Kêraḷôlpatti* (*i.e.*, legendary history of Malabar) and there is also the famous Chiṅṅapuram (=Siṁha's town) near Cranganore. Chiṅṅa is the Malayalam form of Sanskrit Siṁha occurring in Râjasiṁha (=lion among kings). It is, however, impossible to say whether the Râjasiṁha of the Tâḷêkkâd inscription is or is not the same as the above-mentioned Chiṅṅar.

There is also a Râjasiṁha mentioned in the benedictory verses at the end of some of the dramas (*Svapnanâṭaka*, *Pañcharâtra*, *Avimâraka*, etc.) included in the so-called "Bhâsa's Works" of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. There is no knowing whether this Râjasiṁha is or is not the same as the Râjasiṁha of the Tâḷêkkâd inscription.

VI. Inscription on the Reverse of the Tâḷêkkâd Râjasiṁha Stone.

The reverse side of the Râjasiṁha stone at Tâḷêkkâd mentioned in the previous article (No. V) bears another Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription of about thirty lines in small characters. Of these only the first ten lines are legible, and a free translation of them is given below.

TRANSLATION.

"Hail! Prosperity!

"The business done without demur under the authority of the king by the elders of the village of Tâḷêkkâd; the headmen, the council and two members from the two families of representatives of the village of Iṅkayûr[36]; together with the merchants[37] and two members from the two families of representatives of the village of Iruṅkâṭikkûṭal[38]. The headman shall not interfere and cause hindrance or confusion in (such and such)[39] lands

[35] *Cf.* Record No. 112 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1905.

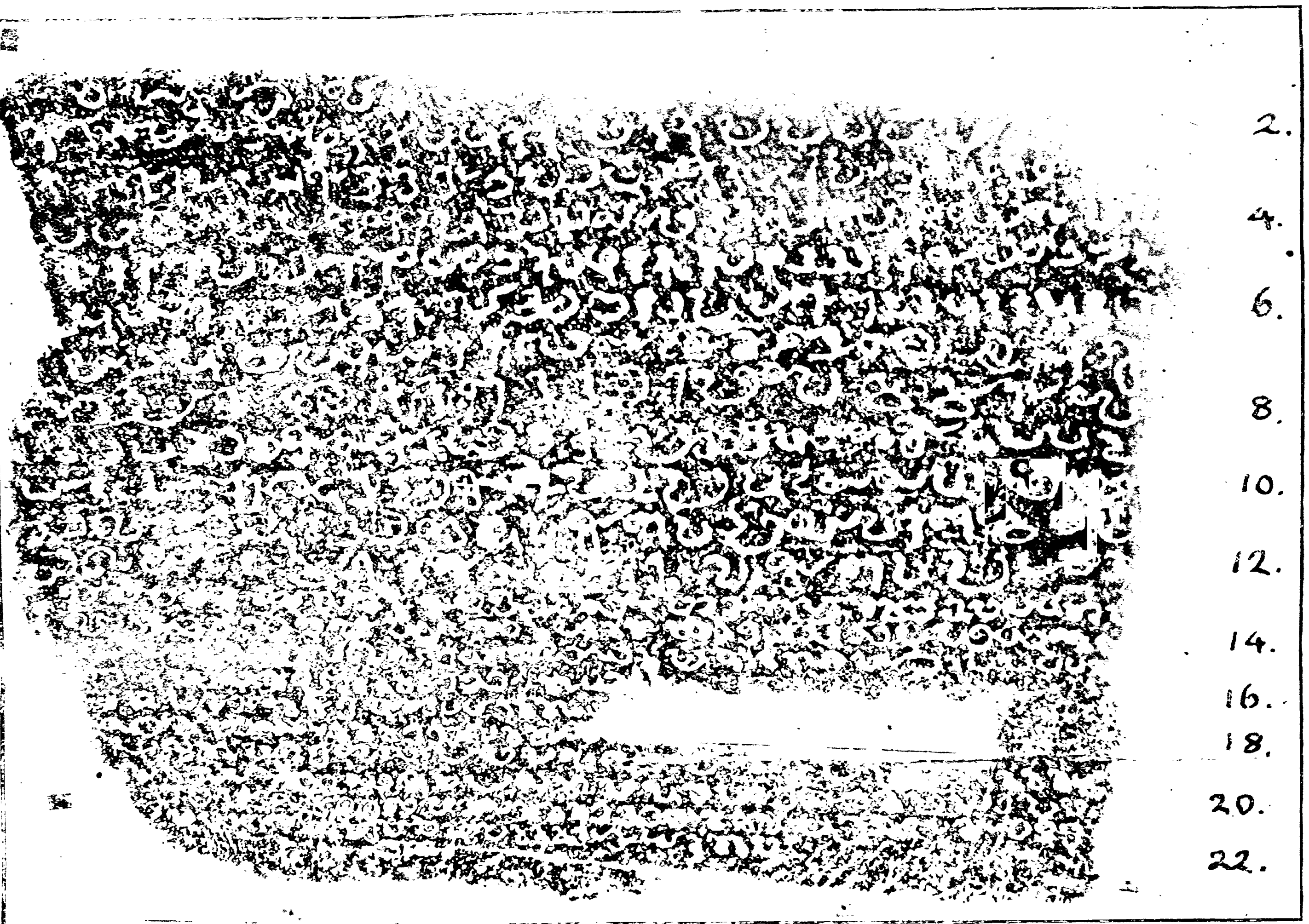
[36] This village still exists under the name Iṅṅayûr.

[37] The word in the original is *vâkiṇar*, which has no meaning at all. It must be a mistake for *vâṇikar*, meaning merchants.

[38] The modern name of the village is Iriṅṅâlakkuṭa or Iriññâlakkuṭa.

[39] The names of the lands are omitted in the translation.

RAJASIMHA INSCRIPTION AT TALĔKKAD IN COCHIN



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included in the old arrangement. . . . [40] and (such and such) [41] lands included in the present arrangement. In the afternoon the bazaar" (The remaining lines are undecipherable).

The mention of merchants (*vide* the arguments in the previous article, No. V) and bazaar makes it very probable that this inscription also relates to Christians. Palæographically it is of about the same age as the previous inscription on the obverse side of the Tâḷêkkâd stone slab.

(*To be continued.*)

RÂWAL JAITRASIṀHA OF MEWÂR.

BY R. R. HALDER.

THE sixth verse of the Chîrwâ Inscription published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. XXI, together with a few other inscriptions, makes it worthwhile to enquire into the history of Râwal Jaitrasiṁha, who was one of the most powerful kings of Mewâṛ. It is a pity that even his name is not mentioned in Colonel Tod's *Râjasthân*, in which fifteen generations after Bhartṛibhaṭa III, have been passed over for want of sufficient facts "to amuse the general reader."[1] He was the son of Padmasiṁha and grandfather of Râwal Samarasiṁha, who is wrongly said to have been the contemporary[2] of the famous Chauhâna king Pṛithvîrâja of Ajmer. He is known by several names, and, from his inscriptions, it appears that he ruled at least for thirty-nine years from *Saṁvat* [3] 1270 to 1309 (A.D. 1213–52).

The above-mentioned verse[4] of the Chîrwâ inscription says that the rulers of Mâlava, Gurjara, Mârava, Jâṅgal and of the Mlechchhas (Muhammadans) could not humble his (Jaitrasiṁha's) pride. An inscription,[5] dated *Saṁvat* 1322 (A.D. 1265) of the time of Tejasiṁha of Mewâṛ also says that the kings of Gurjara, Mâlava, Turushka (Muhammadans) and Śâkaṁbhaṛi (in Jâṅgal) could not crush the pride of Jaitrasiṁha. An inscription,[6] dated S. 1342 (A.D. 1285) of the time of Râwal Samarasiṁha of Mewâṛ adds that Jaitrasiṁha destroyed Naddule, (in Mârwâṛ), engaged in battle with the Sindhuka army and defeated a Turushka army. From these, it is clear that Jaitrasiṁha was engaged in fighting against (1) the ruler of the Muhammadans (the Sultâns of Delhi), (2) the Sindhuka army (army of Sind), (3) the ruler of Jâṅgal, (4) the ruler of Mâlava (Mâlwâ), (5) the ruler of Gurjara (Gujarât), and (6) the ruler of Mârava (Mârwâṛ).

It will be interesting, now, to trace the truth of above facts as far as possible. In order to do this, we have to ascertain who the rulers of the countries mentioned above were and what expeditions were carried out by them into Mewâṛ during the reign of Jaitrasiṁha.

As regards No. (1), the ruler of the Mlechchas referred to above was evidently one of the Sultâns of Delhi. Those that were contemporary with Râwal Jaitrasiṁha of Mewâr were Shamsu'ddîn Altamsh, Ruknu'ddîn Fîrûz Shâh I, Riẓiyah Begum, Mu'izzu'ddîn Bahrâm Shâh, 'Alâu'ddîn Mas'ûd Shâh and Nâṣîru'ddîn Maḥmûd Shâh.[7] Of these, the first and the

[40] There are letters here not quite legible. [41] As in footnote 39 above.

[1] Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 297.

[2] In *Tod's Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 300–302, it is said that Samarasiṁha married Pṛithvîraja's sister Pirthâ, and was killed while fighting against Shihâbu'ddîn Ghori in the cause of Pṛithvirâja. This is impossible, as Samarasiṁha died in *S.* 1358 or A.D. 1301 (the last inscription of Samarasiṁha is dated Mâgh Sudi 10, *S.* 1358, and the first inscription of his son Ratnasiṁha is dated Mâgh Sudi 5, Saṁvat 1359), while the above battle was fought in 1192 A.D.

[3] The inscriptions of Jaitrasiṁha range from *Saṁvat* 1270 to 1309 [Vide *Bhâvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 93, n. and Peterson's third *Report in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bombay Presidency*, p. 130. See also *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, 1924–25, p. 2]. The dates are taken from inscriptions; hence the reign may have lasted longer.

[4] न मालवीयेन न गौर्जरेण न मारवेशेन न जांगलेन ।
म्लेच्छाधिनाथेन कदापि मानो म्लानिं न निन्ये वनिपस्य यस्य ॥

[5] श्रीमद्गुर्ज्जरमालवतुरुष्कशाकंभरीश्वरैर्यस्य ।
चक्रे न मानभंगः स स्वःस्थो जयतु जैत्रसिंहनृपः ॥ ६ ॥ Unpublished Inscription of Ghâghsâ.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, pp. 349–50, vv. 42-43; Duff's *Chronology*, p. 287.

[7] Duff's *Chronology*, pp. 311–312.

last are known to have carried expeditions into Râjputânâ. Soon after his accession on the throne of Delhi, Shamsu'ddîn Altamsh marched against Udayasiṁha, the tributary Râjâ of Jâlôr, who had declined to make the usual payments and brought him to subjection.[8] In the Hijrî year 623 (A.D. 1226) he reduced the fort of Ranthambhor. His invasion of Mewâṛ, however, is not mentioned in the books containing the above accounts, but, with the help of a Sanskrit drama entitled *Haṁmîramadamardana* composed by Jayasiṁha Sûri in *Saṁvat* 1286 (A.D. 1229), we can safely arrive at such a conclusion. In it, the conversation between Vîradhavala and his minister Têjapâla, as well as the statement of the messenger named Kamalaka, distinctly shows that Mewâṛ was attacked, and some place in it was burnt by the Sultân, while the people were panic-stricken.[9] The name of the Sultân, however, is not mentioned in the book, but he is expressed by the terms 'Suratrâṇa,' 'Haṁmîra,' 'Milachchrikârâ'[10], etc. The last expression gives a clue to the real name of the Sultân, and is a corrupt form of 'Amîr Shikâr,' which, as we know, was the title of Altamsh conferred upon him by his master Quṭbu'ddîn Aibak.[11] Thus, it is clear that it was Shamsu'ddîn.[12] Altamsh of Delhi, who delivered an attack upon Mewâṛ and destroyed the town Nâghrada (Nâgdâ in Mewâṛ) as is indicated in the 16th verse[13] of the Chîrwâ inscription.

As regards No. 2, it is very difficult to come to a definite conclusion. The rulers of Sind contemporary with Jaitrasiṁha were Nâṣiru'ddîn Qabâcha, Saifu'ddîn Al-Ḥasan, and Nâṣiru'ddîn Muḥammad.[14] It may be noticed, however, that in A.H. 618 (A.D. 1221), Jalâlu'ddîn, the son of the king, of Khwarazm being defeated in the north by the Mughals under Chingiz Khân retreated towards Lahore, where, being opposed by Altamsh, he was compelled to retreat towards Sind.[15] Nâṣiru'ddîn Qabâcha was the ruler of Sind at this period. His country was, therefore, attacked by Jalâlu'ddîn who, having fired Uchh, proceeded to Siwastân, the governor of which, Fakhru'ddîn Sâlârî, surrendered. Jalâlu'ddîn next marched to Dîbal and Damrîlah whence he dispatched a force under Khâṣ Khân towards Nahrwâla (Anhilvâḍ, Paṭṭan in Gujarât).[16] It may be that the force in going from Sind to Gujarât may have passed through the territory of Mewâṛ which lay on the route, and fought a battle with Jaitrasiṁha's army.

Turning our attention to No. 3, we know that, under the early Chauhâns, Jâṅgal comprised the whole of the present Bîkânîr State and the northern part of Mârwâṛ. The capital of Jâṅgal was Ahichhatrapura or Nâgaur, where the Chauhâns first ruled. Gradually, the seat of Government was transferred by them to Śâkaṁbharî (Sâmbhar), and the territory over which they (Chauhâns) ruled was called Sapâdalakṣha or Sawâlaka, Siwâlikh, etc. After the death of the last Chauhân King of Ajmer, Pṛithvîrâja III, the whole of the territory of the Chauhâns fell into the hands of the Muhammadans and changed hands as follows:— In the year A.D. 1228, Altamsh assigned the Siwâlikh territory, Ajmer, Sâmbhar, etc., to Nâṣiru'ddîn Aiyitim.[17] Then in A.D. 1242, during the reign of 'Alâu'ddîn Mas'ûd Shâh.

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8 Briggs: *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 207.

9 *Haṁmîramadamardana*, p. 27.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

11 Raverty's *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 603.

12 Col. Tod makes mention of an attack on Chitor by Shamsu'ddîn Altamsh in the time of Râhap (*Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 305), whom he places on the throne of Chitor in *S.* 1257 (A.D. 1201) and supposes to be the son and grandson of Karṇa and Samarasiṁha, respectively. In fact, Râhap had nothing to do with the throne of Chitor, and was the ruler of the separate estate of Sesodâ about 6 or 7 generations before Samarasiṁha. [See *Rajasthân*, vol. I, p. 281, n. 4, and *Tod Rajasthân* in Hindi, by R. B. G. H. Ojha, p. 323.]

13 नागद्रहपु भंगे समं सुरत्राणसैनिकैर्युध्वा ।
भुताल्लाहटकूटे पमराजः पंचतां प्राप ॥

14 Duff's *Chronology*, p. 314.

15 Briggs. *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 208.

16 Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. IV, p. 415; Duff's *Chronology*, p. 180.

17 Duff's *Chronology*, p. 182.

'Izzu'ddîn Balban was appointed to the provinces of Ajmer, Mandawar and Nâgaur.[18] A few years after Nâṣiru'ddîn Maḥmûd Shâh came to the throne of Delhi, 'Izzu'ddîn Balban revolted. The Sultân, therefore, marched towards Nâgaur and caused him to submit.[19]

In the beginning of the Hijrî year 651 (A.D. 1253), the Sultân lost confidence in his minister Ghiyâṣu'ddîn Balban, originally a slave of Altamsh, with the result that he dismissed him from office, bestowing on him the small estate of Hânsî for his maintenance.[20] Thereupon the ex-minister, with the help of other states, raised an army against the king, who now proceeded to Hânsî against him.[21] Ulugh Khân (the title received by Ghiyâṣu'd-dîn Balban after he became minister) retired to Nâgaur (the capital of Jâṅgal), and invaded the territory of Ranthambhor, Bûndi and Chitrur (Chitor).[22] So, it is likely that it is this invasion of Ulugh Khân upon Chitor which refers to the fight of Jaitrasiṁha with Jâṅgal. The old *wazîr*, however, succeeded later on in gaining the confidence of the King of Delhi, and was reinstated in his post.

In respect of Mâlwâ and Gujarât, verses 28 and 19 respectively of the Chîrwâ inscription clear up the doubt. The former[23] says that Madana showed valour on the battlefield of Utthûṇaka (Arthunâ in Bânswâra State), while fighting against king Jaitramalla in the cause of Jêsala (Jaitrasiṁha). Arthunâ was at that period under the Paramâra rulers of Mâlwâ and Jaitramalla, most certainly Jayatungidêva of Mâlwâ, who was a contemporary of Jaitrasiṁha of Mewâṛ.[24]

According to verse 19 of the above inscription, Bâlâka is said to have been killed in front of Jaitrasiṁha, while fighting against Râṇâ Tribhûvana.[25] Tribhûvana was evidently the successor of Bhîmadêva II. of Gujarât, and was the contemporary of Râwal Jaitrasiṁha of Mewâṛ.[26]

Lastly, concerning the fight with Mârwâṛ, we find that in the period we are talking of, the Chauhâns of Jâlor, under Udayasiṁha, were the predominant rulers in Mârwâṛ. The Chauhâns of Jâlor were the offshoots of the Chauhâns of Nâdol. It was Kîtu (Kîrtipâla), grandfather of Udayasiṁha and founder of the Jâlor branch, who, by strength of his arms, wrested the fort of Jâlor (Jâvâlipura) from the Paramâras and made it his capital.[27] The descendants of Kîrtipâla were known as the Chauhâns of Jâlor. It was this Kîrtipâla who also wrested Chitor from Sâmantasiṁha, then ruler of Mewâr[28]. Now, in the inscription of Samarasiṁha mentioned above, Râwal Jaitrasiṁha is said to have destroyed Naddule (Nâdol), which was within the territory of Jâlor at this time. This event must have occurred during the time of Udayasiṁha, and was probably due to the fact that Râwal Jaitrasiṁha wanted to avenge the defeat by Kîrtipâla of his forefather Sâmantasiṁha of Mewâṛ.

Besides the above, there were other incursions made upon Mewâṛ during the reign of Jaitrasiṁha. In A.H. 646 (A.D. 1247), Jalâlu'ddîn, brother of the Sultân Nâṣiru'ddîn Maḥmûd, was recalled by the latter from his government of Kanauj, but being afraid of a plot against his life, he fled to the hills of Chitor. The king pursued him in vain for about eight months and then returned to Delhi.[29] In the year A.H. 653 (A.D. 1256) the king quarrelled with his mother who, after the death of Shamsu'ddîn Altamsh, had married Saifu'ddîn Qutlugh Khân, a noble of the court. Nâṣiru'ddîn, however, in order to remove his mother away from Delhi, assigned the government of Oudh to her husband, who was

18 Duff's *Chronology*, p. 188.

19 Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 238.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 240.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 241–42.

22 Duff's *Chronology*, p. 195.

23 यः श्रीजेसलकार्ये भवदुत्थूणकरणांगण प्रहरन् ।
पंचलगुडिकेन समं प्रकटबलो जैत्रमल्लेन ॥

24 *The Parmâras of Dhâr and Mâlwâ*, by Captain C. E. Luard and K. K. Lele, p. 40.

25 बालाकः कोट्टडकग्रहणे श्रीजैत्रसिंहनृपपुरतः ।
त्रिभुवनराणकयुद्धे जगाम युद्ध्वा परं लोकं ॥

26 Duff's *Chronology*, p. 189.

27 Ep. Ind., vol. IX, p. 83 n.

28 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LIII, p. 101.

29 Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 238.

shortly after removed to Bahraich. Being dissatisfied with this arrangement, Qutlugh Khân revolted. The Wazîr (Ulugh Khân) marched against him, but he escaped to Chitor. The Wazîr destroyed the fort, but being unable to secure Qutlugh Khân, returned to Delhi.[30]

Thus we see that Râwal Jaitrasiṁha[31] was a very powerful king. The simple fact that he fought successfully so many battles with different armies, and, ultimately, could not be subdued even by the Sulṭân of Delhi, bears testimony to his greatness. Inscriptions of his time have been discovered, and manuscripts seem to have been written during his reign.[32] Still, it is a wonder that his name is cast into oblivion. It may be that a king and his kingdom may vanish, but the deeds which survive, bring back into prominence his forgotten name, and such is the case with Râwal Jaitrasiṁha of Mewâṛ, who, though not widely known, is well worthy to be mentioned among the illustrious rulers of Mewâṛ.

MISCELLANEA.

MUSSULMEN : SULTANESS.

In a curious little octavo book by W. Hatchett, *The Adventures of Abdalla son of Hanif*, are a number of fairy tales in the old Indian style. It purports to relate the adventures of an officer of Shâh Jahân's Court in search, on behalf of the Emperor, of the Water of Youth, on "the Island of Borico." It contains a number of Hobson-Jobsons, and among them is *Mussulmen* which occurs several times in the course of the book.

1729. "The Prayer being ended, the Sultan Chah Gehan rose up and turning towards me said . . . 'Bow down thy Head.' 'Father of *Mussulmen*,' said I, with a pretty bold Accent " (p. 3).

" As became true *Mussulmen*, we fell upon these infamous Villains " (p. 16).

So also on pp. 119, 120, 130 and 161.

The curious form *Sultaness* is also found : *e.g.*, "He hastened directly to the *Sultaness* and the Princess who were drinking Coffee together " (p. 10).

So also on pp. 108, 110.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE ARYAN THOLOS OF MALABAR.[1]

The Malabar coast being in direct communication with the Indus delta there is nothing strange in finding there, rather than elsewhere, monuments analogous to those in Mesopotamia and in Europe. As a matter of fact one finds here *tholoi* quite analogous to those in the Mediterranean basin. In my little book *Vedic Antiquities*, I drew attention to the existence of these hemispherical tombs and expressed the opinion that these tombs were Aryan. It is important to note the detail that these Aryan hemispherical tombs have façades ornamented in a fashion quite identical with those of the Greek and Phœnician *tholoi*. I would ask the reader to consult the work *Histoire de l'Art* by Perrot and Chipiez, Tome III and to look at figure 158, page 221, and figures 162 and 163, page 226 (tomb in Malta). Now let the reader kindly turn his eyes to the photograph (Plate XV, Fig. 1) which represents an Aryan tomb at Pounnol, close to Tallayi (between Tellicherry and Mahe). The style of the doorway is very characteristic ; it is the style of the Mediterranean *tholoi*, and particularly of the Phœnician tombs. This tomb of Malabar is, however, "Tomb with cupola," a *tholos*. Certain tombs are double (Plate XIV, Fig. 1),[2] but the common façade is always ornamented in this very characteristic fashion. Plate XIV, Fig. 2, represents the doorway of one of those cells of the group of Padinyakamuri tombs (see *Ved. Ant.*, p. 17). This style seems to me to be of Sumerian origin, because this decoration is very frequent in the monuments of Mesopotamia. Plate XV, Fig. 2, represents the interior of this same tomb. This cave, when viewed in section, shows the circular form of the vault and, in the interior, the stone table upon which were deposited the ashes of the Aryan chief. The discovery of façades in Sumerian style in Malabar is of very great interest. In my opinion these *tholoi* of India date nearly a thousand years before our era, and are almost contemporaneous with the Phœnician *tholoi*.

R. GOPALAN.

30 Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 242.

31 A detailed account of Jaitrasiṁha will be found in R. B. G. H. Ojha's *History of Rajputana* (in Hindi), part II, which will shortly be out.

32 (1) See note 3 above.

(2) ओं संवत् १२७९ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि १३१सु(शु)क्रे अद्येह श्रीनागद्रहे महाराजाधिराजश्रीजयतसिंहदेव-कल्याणविजयराज्ये........ Unpublished Inscription of the village Nâdesmâ in Udaipur State.

(3) ओं संवत् १३०८ वर्षे कार्त्ती(र्त्ति)क वदि १५ सोमदिने अद्येह वागडमंडले महाराजकुल (महाराउल)-श्रीजयस्यंघ(सिंह)देवकल्याणविजया(य)राज्ये झाडउलिग्रामे श्रीवयजनाथदेव[कुलं]........श्रेष्ठि०-वीजासुतखेतलवेइलहरी आकरापित(कारितं)........ Unpublished Inscription of Jhârole in Udaipur State.

1 Translation of a communication in French by Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil published in the *JRAS.*, dated October 1926, pp. 715–716.

2 The Plates appear in the *JRAS.* above referred to.

BOOK-NOTICES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 31: The Indus Valley in the Vedic Period. By RAI BAHADUR RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

The author of this memoir discusses, not inopportunely, certain words and passages occurring in the Vedic literature with reference to recent discoveries in the Indus valley with the object of facilitating the co-ordination of archæological data with ancient literary evidence. Doubt has previously been felt, for example, as to whether the word *samudra* in any of the passages in which it occurs in the Rig Veda referred to the ocean. Even as recently as 1922 the view has been expressed (*C.H.I.*, I, 79-80) that there seemed no strong reason to believe that it meant more than the stream of the Indus in its lower course. Now that conch shell objects have been found at both the Harappa and Mohenjo-daro sites among remains which possibly date back to the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C., Mr. Chanda thinks that there is no longer any room for doubt on the point. Then there is the word *pur* or *pura*, so often used in describing the strongholds of non-Aryan enemies, which has been explained as probably meaning no more than a fortification or stockade, or a mere place of refuge against attack—ramparts of hardened earth with palisades and a ditch. Mr. Chanda is not prepared to accept this definition. He writes: "The terms Pur and Pura mean *nagara*, 'city,' 'town,' and not fort. The Sanskrit equivalent of 'fort' is *durga*, which also occurs in the Rig-veda." He states that in one stanza the words *pura* and *durga* occur side by side, and he sees here a reference to both town and fort. Who, then, the question arises, were the enemies of the Rig Vedic Aryans who lived in towns and fought from within strongholds in the Indus valley? These he proposes to identify with the Paṇis, "who do not perform sacrifice and do not give gifts," described by Yâska in one place as 'merchants' and in another place as 'demons.' Now the root *paṇ* conveys the idea of bartering, dealing or trading, and it is not impossible that these Paṇis were wealthy trading folk living in towns. From the attribute of avarice or niggardliness applied to them a temptation might even be felt to see in them the prototype of the *mahâjan* of later days. But their wealth in horses and kine, referred to in both the Rig and the Atharva, is not altogether consonant with the role of town merchants. Section 2 refers to the falling off, from the Brahmanical standpoint, of the peoples of the Panjâb after the age of the hymns, of which we have abundant evidence in later texts. The drift of the argument in Section 3 is not very clear. The subject of the disposal of the dead, whether by exposure, burial, cremation, or deposit of the bones or ashes only in cinerary urns, is a very complicated one; and we must await detailed information of the evidence found in this connexion at Nal, Harappa and Mohenjo-daro before any conclusions, or even suggestions, seem possible.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE INDIAN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY, mainly based on the *Sâdhanamâlâ* and other cognate Tantric Texts of Rituals. By B. BHATTACHARYA. Humphrey. Milford, Oxford University Press.

Mr. Bhattacharya, the son of the great Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Haraprasâd Shâstri, is also Editor of the Gaekwad's *Oriental Series* and has been Government Research Scholar in Iconography at the University of Dacca; hence his book on the images of Buddhists—a truly formidable subject to tackle. I well remember seeing in a building in Kyoto in Japan an enormous mass of beautiful full-sized figures, all of one character but no two altogether alike, representing the "gods" of Mahâyâna Buddhism, and thinking how hopeless seemed to be the task of trying to learn the system on which they had been constructed. There were so many that it seemed to be impossible really to systematise them, but Mr. Bhattacharya has now shown that it is possible to do so and that they are constructed more or less according to a definite plan. The "science" of iconography is very like the "science" of heraldry. It is the learning of an arbitrary set of rules, some knowledge of which is, however, necessary, if one would grasp what is in the minds of those that teach and believe in it.

Mr. Bhattacharya has taken his work seriously, and has had the advantage of the teaching of Prof. A. Foucher, and has gone to the root of his subject. He is careful to explain that "Buddhist iconography is not idolatry; the images do not represent objects of worship but represent the highest Buddhist ideals of Śûnya or Void commingled with Vijñâna and Mahâsukha"—a statement that takes us straight into Buddhist, and I may say, Hindu, transcendental philosophy. There is a notable introduction to the book, in which the author gives us a remarkable though brief historical survey of Buddhism, including a discourse on the evolution of Buddhistic doctrines. These are well worth the attention even of experts in the subject and contain some arresting views. In his Foreword Mr. Bhattacharya also brings an important consideration prominently before his readers—the approach of Buddhism to the religions of the Jains and the Hindus: "we have evidence that free interchanges of gods actually did take place, first at the very outset of Buddhism and Jainism as well as in the more promiscuous Tantric age,

The Jainas and the Buddhists alike borrowed Hindu gods in the earlier stages, but in the Tantric age the Buddhist gods were commonly exploited. The problem of correct identification of images, therefore, presents a real difficulty, and great scholars have, more than once, attempted solutions." These are remarks to be carefully digested and are the more noteworthy for coming from a Brahman.

We are given an account of the *Sâdhanamâlâ* which "contains about 300 *sâdhanas* enjoining the procedure for worshipping, in the Buddhist Tantric fashion, about 300 deities," and Mr. Bhattacharya is careful to explain that *sâdhana* does not mean "charm," as Bendall thought, but a "procedure for worship." Next attention is drawn to the importance of the Dhyânas "or descriptive conceptions of the deity," for the purposes of Iconography, and to the method on which Mr. Bhattacharya has based his endeavour to identify the images of Buddhist deities by means of the Dhyânas given in the *Sâdhanamâlâ*, "the most scientific classification of the Buddhist deities being to sort out and classify them according to their parental Dhyânî Buddhas." Mañjuśrî and Avalokitêśvara, the great Bodhisattvas have, however, been treated separately, and those deities who cannot be definitely stated to be emanations of any Dhyânî Buddha, have been termed "Independent," and separately dealt with. We thus see how it has been made possible to systematise this bewildering Iconography.

Mr. Bhattacharya has a thoughtful chapter on the "Evidence of Art" as to his subject, showing how "in the late phase of Vajrayâna, after its destruction in India, the priests of the celebrated monasteries took refuge in Nepal, and thus kept the torch of Buddhism still burning in India," carrying with them the art of Bengal, and there "in order to make sure of their existence converted a good many of the natives and carved out innumerable images of gods both in stone and in wood; so much so, that a student of Iconography is overwhelmed at their wealth and variety." It was to Nepal that Mr. Bhattacharya had himself to go for his information.

After remarking that "the Pantheon of the Northern Buddhists was not built in a day" our author gives an account of its rise in the eighth century A.D. and its remarkable spread : "the Hindus say that the number of their deities is thirty-three *crores*, and it seems that the Buddhists can claim a similar figure." He then proceeds to show how this can be the case.

The book next passes to a consideration of the images themselves commencing with an account of the Buddhas, Buddhaśaktis and Bodhisattvas of the Mahâyânists. It is to be noted that in Nepal a sixth deity is added to the orthodox five in this respect. Thus there are in that country six Dhyânî Buddhas, six Buddhaśaktis or consorts of Buddhas and six Bodhisattvas—those who do the duty of a Buddha on the earth. Then we have seven mortal Buddhas, of whom Gautama Buddha was one, each with his Śakti and his Bodhisattva. Besides these is Maitreya, who "partakes of the nature of a mortal Buddha, though he is not a Buddha yet. He is passing the life of a Bodhisattva in the Tushita Heaven preparatory to his descent to the earth in human form." It is on these conceptions that the Buddhist pantheon and its iconography mainly rests.

In the consideration of Mañjuśrî the Bodhisattva of the Dhyânî Buddha Amitâbha, we plunge at once into the abstractions of Mahâyâna Buddhism and the difficulties connected therewith, which Mr. Bhattacharya deals with as clearly as may be. The same can be said of his dealings with Avalokitêśvara "emanating from the Dhyânî Buddha, Amitâbha and his Śakti, Pâṇḍarâ. Like Mañjuśrî, he appears in many and bewildering forms, cleverly and fully set out in this book.

Mr. Bhattacharya next takes us to emanations of the Dhyânî Buddhas, commencing with Amitâbha and passing on to Akshobhya (gods and goddesses), Vairochana (all goddesses), Amoghasiddhi (also all goddesses), Ratnasambhava (gods and goddesses). The Naipalî Vajrasattva, the 6th Dhyânî Buddha, is not included in this category, but there is another set of gods and goddesses, who are emanations of the Five Dhyânî Buddhas as a body—a combination of all the five, amongst which is included the terrible Mahâkâla. Then follow the emanations of Vajrasattva "the Pañcharaksha Mâṇḍala, and the Târâs, green, white, yellow, blue (grey) and red. In addition to all there are the independent deities—gods and goddesses—some of which show indications of importation, *e.g.*, Gaṇapati, and Sarasvatî in various forms, and Śâradâ.

After this Mr. Bhattacharya draws his conclusions, which every student of iconography should study. He winds up with the following statement of Tântric transcendentalism : "The god Heruka, the embodiment of Śûnya, carrying the weapons, the embodiment of Bodhichitta, also of the nature of Sûnya, is embraced by Nairâtmâ, whose essence is also Śûnya, carrying weapons also of the nature of Śûnya. Thus Void with Void commingles. This is the highest state—the Anupâdhiśesha-Nirvâna."

There is an appendix describing the 108 forms of Avalokitêśvara appearing in the Machchhandar Vathal at Kâthmâṇḍu. There are the 108 Lokêśvaras. With this must end this very brief outline of Mr. Bhattacharya's remarkable book, adding that there is a useful glossary and a good index, and the further observation that one can now understand why the admirable plates number sixty-nine.

R. C. TEMPLE.



FULL-SIZE.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

By SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page 18.*)

D-I. (*a*) Symbolical Coins.

We now come to the vexed question of the coins which Phayre in the *International Numismata Orientalia*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 33 (figured on his Plate V, 2) called Pagoda Medals and considered very ancient. My own Plate III was made many years ago and I followed him thereon by also calling them "Medals from Pegu." Of the figures in my Plate[30] III, figs. 2, 3 and 4 are of silver and figs. 1 and 5 of spelter (*tutenaga*). Figs. 1, 2 and 3 are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Figs. 4 and 5 were in my own collection, and are now in the British Museum. The evidence I have collected tends to show that they were really the coinage of Bôdòp'ayâ, but they have hitherto been called Pagoda Medals or symbolical Coins of Pegu and Arakan.

Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia,* p. 805, writing in 1823, states that the silver coin figured by Phayre[31] is one of those from the pattern given to Symes by Bôdòp'ayâ. At the end of the nineteenth century they were still to be found about Burma, *vide* my Plate III, figs. 4 and 5, and besides those exhibited there, I saw several others at the same time. In the Calcutta Museum[32] Nos. 881, 882 are the identical samples that Symes brought to Calcutta at Bôdòp'ayâ's request in order to have copies made of them at the mint. They were evidently given as 'ancient' specimens, and it is well to note here that they were cast, not struck. The modern Burman is, however, an adept at both metal-casting and die-sinking.

Phayre, *op. cit.*, p. 35, says that the silver coins were really pagoda medals, intended by the King to be placed in the great (and still) unfinished pagoda he was building at Mingûn, nearly opposite the modern Mandalay across the Irrawaddy. This view is, I think, partly correct, though it is evident from the quotations below that he really did intend to use them as coin of the realm. In any case they were modelled on true pagoda medals.[33]

Mr. L. White King allowed me to examine his rich collection of Burmese coins, and I found he had two varieties of that shown by Phayre, Plate V, fig. 2, and also a good specimen of Plate V, fig. 1 (the same as my Plate III, fig. 3), and three smaller coins of the same design of one-fourth the size. Assuming the larger coin to be a tickal, the smaller specimens would represent a *tamàt* each, or one-fourth tickal. All this looks like coinage, especially as those of Phayre's Plate V, fig. 2 were found in Arakan, whither Bôdòp'ayâ sent an army.

The point is obscure, but in view of the information thus available, I think the safest thing to do, in the light of Cox's statement, given below, that there were *two* kinds struck, is to attribute all the coinage to Bôdòp'ayâ. The Calcutta Mint specimens would be those given in Phayre's Plate V, fig. 2, and the others those made by Bôdòp'ayâ's own moneyers.

I may as well note that the point is rendered still more obscure by the coin or medal shown in my Plate III, fig. 5, which is evidently of the same class and belongs to the British Museum, unless it is assumed that this is one of the Pagoda medals, from one or two of many designs from which Bôdòp'ayâ chose specimens to hand over to Symes.[34]

That they were Bôdòp'ayâ's coins, struck perhaps in Upper Burma, is probable from the following interesting correspondence, which I give in full, as the whole subject is still somewhat obscure and all evidence is valuable. Mr. H. G. Batten, then Deputy Commissioner,

[30] Fig. 6 on that Plate is from Tenassarim and has no connection with the other figures. It will be dealt with separately.

[31] *International Numismata Orientalia,* vol. III, pt. I, p. 33 and Plate V, 2. See also Marsden, Plate LIII.

[32] These numbers refer to the old lists. They may have been changed in the new catalogues.

[33] Nos. 883, 884 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Mint Collection are probably the originals of these coins. They are noted in the catalogue, 1883, as "Rupeës, Ava Mint."

[34] In view of its good workmanship, it may also be Cox's 'second design.'

Magwê District in Upper Burma, wrote to me on 7th Feb. 1900 :—" I send you drawings of 2 coins picked, or rather dug, up, I believe, in the old city near Kôkogwâ. The tradition is that it was a Hindustani settlement, and not long ago similar coins and some *lôtâs* [brass pots] were found and sent to the Local Government. What happened to them I do not know. The coins were copied by Mrs. Walton (the wife of the Deputy-Superintendent of Police), who has made the excellent drawings of them sent herewith." See Plate III*a*.

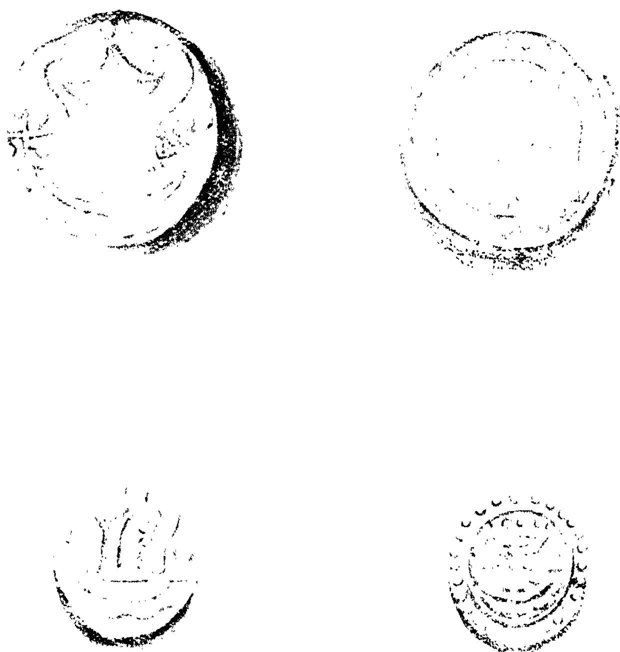
In addition Mr. Batten sent "notes made by Maung Saw Maung, Township Officer, Taungdwingyî," which ran as follows :—" In November, 1896, test famine-relief works were started. A road from Kôkogwâ to Sinlè was begun by me. On the 2nd November, 1896, the coolies employed on the work dug up some silver coins. I was able to collect four coins, two rupee size and two half rupee size. The road started within the old ruined city of Dôkthà-pûra, now called Peikthàdômyo. The city has three brick walls, north, south and east : no wall on the west. It is a square city. The city wall measures nearly two miles from each corner. It is situated ten miles west of Taungdwingyî, which is also an ancient city with brick walls, but its size is only a fourth of Peikthàdô. Several brass cups [*lôtâs*] were discovered. The ruins in Peikthàdô are all of brick. No authentic account of Peikthàdô is in existence. It was undoubtedly not a Burman city and everything indicates that the city must have been built by the Hindus from India. When and in what year the city was established and when it was deserted is not known." The worthy Township Officer then goes on to explain that "the reigning queen Pànthwâ, of Peikthàdô," was captured by Dwidàbaung [Duttàbaung] of Prome, according to a well-known legend. He then says that " 6 Brass cups and 2 silver coins found in the same place [Peikthàdô] were sent to the Lieutenant-Governor [of Burma] through Captain Warde." The brass cups were the Indian *lôtâs* above mentioned, and of the two silver coins one was that on the Plate (III*a*) attached.

It will thus be seen that Bôdòp'ayâ's " Arakan " coins have been found in Upper Burma in two connected sites.

Referring to specimens of such coins as the above, Phayre, *History of Burma*, 1883, p. 31, has the following note :—" Coins or medals bearing Hindu symbols which have been found, and which no doubt are struck [in Pegu], probably belong to this period [A.D. 573], and lend support to the conclusion as to events which the native chroniclers have obscured or suppressed." This statement I take it, we may now assume to have been made in complete error from the guesses or traditions of literary Burmans, but it gives the impression of European scholars of Phayre's time in relation to the legendless coinage found in Arakan and along the Burma seacoast.

Capt. C. H. White, a collector of Arakanese coins, printed in 1892 in Akyab *Notes with Reference to a Selection of Symbolical and Historical Coins of Arakan*. In this pamphlet[35] he gives a useful history of the subject up to that date. The Arakanese coinage naturally attracted early attention, and papers thereon were published from time to time in *JASB. E.g.*, Thomas Latter, of the *Burmese Grammar*, had an article thereon in No. CLXXI, 1846, (Vol. XIII, pp. 571 ff.), in which he "speculated " that these coins " might be intended to convey symbolical representation of the cosmology of Buddhism." Three of the coins he thought were Hindu, representing " the Bull Nandi, the peculiar cognizance of Shiva," and as to these he gives an interesting story. • " The popular tradition connected with these coins is the following. There was a King, who set off to China to find the skull, which he owned in a former state of existence, when he was in the body of a dog. His astrologers having told him that this was why he was troubled with such incurable headaches and that on removing it he would be cured. On his departure he left his wife with a ring and told her that in case he should not come back in seven years, she was to raise to the throne and marry one of her subjects whom it would fit. On his way back the daughter

[35] In India Office Library.



COINS OF BODOPAYA

rs. Walton del

was under the Government of Bengal (or Delhi), or to the period in which the Arakanese sovereigns learnt the kingly practice of issuing coins after the fashion of Bengal, when they held the country under their sway during the reigns of Gaulaya, Datha-Raza, Midzutheng, Alaumaphyu, Mengdi[38] and others." Of the third class he writes :—" The reason may be that either the Kings of Bengal were losing their power over the sovereigns of Arakan or that the latter had improved the art of coinage. These coins date from B.E. 863 (A.D. 1501) or B.E. 963 (A.D. 1601)." The fourth class he says " shows the time that the Arakanese declared their independence of the Bengal Kings or the improvement they made on the previous coins by issuing coinage with purely Burmese characters, and they date from B.E. 1000 (A.D. 1638)."

He then disagrees with Phayre and examines his statement as to the date which Arakanese Kings put on their coins. This he says was " the date of their accession to the throne." It certainly was so as regards the Alompra Dynasty at Amarapûra and Mandalay. And then he says that out of 19 coins shown by Phayre, 18 were so dated, and on the odd coin he has an arresting paragraph.

" The other coin reads B.E. 863 as well as B.E. 963. If it were the former then we have a King Meng-ra-dza [Minrâza], who came to the throne in that year ; but if the latter, then we have no King, to my knowledge [so far as I know], who ascended the throne in B.E. 963. In B.E. 955 (A.D. 1583) Meng-ra-dzâgyi [Minrâzajî] became king, and it is supposed by General Sir A. P. Phayre that the coin in question was struck during the eight years of his reign, and thus he held that in some instances the coins bear the date of their coinage . . . . With all respect for his authority, I am inclined to think that this conclusion is based upon very meagre evidence."

On Feb. 2nd, 1892, I wrote the following letter to the *Rangoon Gazette* regarding Mr. Htoon Chan's remarks :—" With reference to Mr. Htoon Chan's interesting notes on Arakanese coinage, I doubt if any of the Persian or Nâgarî legends are really illegible. Reading coin legends is merely a question of patience and research. With regard to the Arakanese and similar issues, I would remark that we must not attach too much value to the coins as proof of history. The coinages of Oriental *minor* dynasties are very apt to lead one astray in that respect. What really happens now, and no doubt has happened in the past, is that the ruler issuing the coinage originally either copies as nearly as possible that of his suzerain or of his chief neighbour. Sometimes he merely copies the most famous coin current among his people. His object is, and was, to get currency for, and acknowledgment of, his coins. His successors copy him as nearly as possible with the same views.

" So much has the currency of coins affected rude issues that in India we have the curious instance of the early Musalman conquerors of the Panjâb copying the issues of the Hindu kings, whose territories they had overrun. So untrue to actual facts has the blind copying of predecessors been that Raja Mangal Singh of Jaipur, a subordinate of the *British* Government, struck all his coins from 1837 to 1857 in the name of Bahâdur Shâh, the last king of Delhi, though Bahâdur Shâh never was at any time his suzerain. The present Rajas of the Panjâb, who are allowed to coin, *still* [1892] mostly issue their coins as from the fourth year of Ahmad Shâh Durrânî, which was 1751. But Ahmad Shâh could have only been, even by courtesy, their Suzerain for a short time, and they have been under British rule these many years. This species of false history is almost universal in the coinage of the minor Oriental mints and is not confined by any means to India. The coins of Ancient Britain, for instance, were largely copies of the stater of Philip of Macedon.

" Now the Persian and Nâgarî issues of the Arakan kings are close copies of the Bengal issues of certain periods, and probably date from after the date of the coins that were copied. This gives a general clue as to date and perhaps as to the meaning of the " illegible " legends.

[38] Gaulaya, Dat'arâza, Mizûthin, Alàmmap'yû and Mindî.

"The coins of mixed Persian and Nâgarî and Burmese characters would follow the above in point of date, being probably struck at a time when the Persian and Nâgarî coins were sufficiently well established to have secured general acceptance for a certain value and it became safe to make some alteration in them.

"The purely Burmese character coins would follow on these similarly in due course.

"These three changes in the character of the Arakanese issues have been coincident with the entire dependence, the semi-dependence and the final independence of the Arakanese rulers with respect to those of Bengal, or on the other hand they may not. Only the reading of the legends and the comparison of what the legends tell us with outside history can settle these points.

"In fact, when we are dealing with a *minor* dynasty its coinage is only *primâ facie* evidence of the truth of the history it professes to teach us."

From the above information I am inclined to hold that the Arakanese coinage, as we have it, commenced in A.D. 1459 and was carried on regularly by the Arakanese kings to A.D. 1784, and then in the reign of Mintayâjî, *i.e.*, *Bôdòp'ayâ*, were issued the legendless coins, which European scholars held to be Pagoda medals of a much earlier date. This statement it will be observed is not in line with previous explanations. If my view is right the "Pagoda medals" are not ancient at all.

I will now give an account of Capt. White's collection, as it is important in the present connection. It consisted of 22 coins :—

Nos. 1, 1½ and 2 others are Latter's Symbolical Coins, and the rest are described by Phayre, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, as under :

No. 2 obv. inscribed :—

963. *Sinbyuthak'eṅ Narâd'ibbadi S'òlimshyâ.*

963. Lord of the White Elephant Narâdhipati S'òlim Shyâ.

B.E. 963=A.D. 1601. Narâdhipati, the First (highest) King of men. S'òlim Shyâ= Zâlim Shâh. Zâlim Shâh[39] is a Muhammadan title, and the king mentioned is Minrâzajî in the list of Arakanese sovereigns of the Myauk U Dynasty.[40] The rev. "bears some unintelligible compound of Persian and Nâgarî letters."

No. 3 not described.

No. 4 obv. inscribed :—

984. *S'inb'yûthak'eṅ S'innîthak'eṅ Thirithud'ammarâza.*

984. Lord of the White Elephant, Lord of the Red Elephant, Thirithud'ammarâza.

B.E. 984=A.D. 1622. Thirithu d'ammarâza can be divided as Thiri Thud'amma Râza=Śrî Sudhamma Râja, the Great King of the Holy Law, or as Thiri Thu D'amma Râza=Śrî Sura Dhamma Râja, the Great Hero, the King of the Law. Rev. has "an illegible Persian inscription."

No. 5 obv. and rev. same inscription :—

1000. *S'inb'yûthakeṅ S'innîthakeṅ Narabadîjî.*

1000. Lord of the White Elephant, Lord of the Red Elephant, Narabadîjî.

B.E. 1000=A.D. 1638, and as regards this Phayre writes : "The very year in which the *History of Bengal* informs us that the 'Magh [Arakanese] Chief, who held Chittagong on the part of the Râja of Arakan,' delivered it up to the Mughal Viceroy, Islâm Khân. This circumstance accounts for the Persian Inscription being wanting on this coin. This [Magh] Chief is called in the *Bengali History*, Mâkat Rai, a corruption of his [Arakanese] title, Mengre [Minrê], *i.e.*, "War Chief." Narabadîjî=Narapati-jî, Great Lord of Men.

No. 6 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1007. *S'innîthak'eṅ S'inb'yûthakeṅ Thadô Mintarâ.*

39 This title would mean the Tyrant King, and one wonders if Muhammadan moneyers thus revenged themselves on an ignorant Arakanese conqueror. Minrâzajî would mean the Great Râja King.

40 This is the coin as to which Htoon Chan disagreed with Phayre.

1007. Lord of the Red Elephant, Lord of the White Elephant, Thadô, the Lord of the Law.

B.E. 1007=A.D. 1645. Mintarâ and D'ammarâza both mean Lord of the Law, but *tarâ* means the Civil Law and *dhamma* the Canonical Law.

No. 7 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1014. *Shwênàn : thak'eǹ Sandàsud'ammarâza.*

1014. Lord of the Golden Palace, Moon of the Lord of the Holy Law.

B.E. 1014=A.D. 1652. Sandasud'ammarâza=Chanda sudhammarâja.

No. 8 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1047, *Shwênàn : thak'eǹ Warad'ammarâza.*

1047. Lord of the Golden Palace, Lord of the Excellent Law. (Varadhammarâja).

B.E. 1047=A.D. 1685. (Varadhammarâja). This coin is important as it corrects the list of Arakan kings, where he is stated to have succeeded in B.E. 1054=A.D. 1692.

No. 9 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1072. *Shwênàn: thak'eǹ Sandawizaya.*

1072. Lord of the Golden Palace, Sandavizaya.

B.E. 1072=A.D. 1710. Sandavizaya=Chanda-vijaya, which means the Moon of Victory.

No. 10 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1093. *Shwênàn : thak'eǹ Sanda-Thûrîya-Râza.*

1093. Lord of the Golden Palace, King of the Moon and Sun.

B.E. 1093=A.D. 1731. Sanda-Thûrîya-Râza=Chanda-Sûriya-Râja, Lord of the Moon and Sun.

No. 11 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1097. *Shwênàn : thak'eǹ Narapawarâza.*

1097. Lord of the Golden Palace, the King, the Purifier of men (Narapavarâja).

B.E. 1097=A.D. 1735.

No. 12 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1104. *Shwênàn : thak'eǹ Nara-apâyarâza.*

1104. Lord of the Golden Palace, the King, the Punisher of men (Narâpâyarâja).

B.E. 1104=A.D. 1742.

No. 13 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1123. *Shwênàn : thak'eǹ Sandaparamarâza.*

1123. Lord of the Golden Palace, Superior Lord of the Moon.

B.E. 1123=A.D. 1761.

No. 14 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1126. *Shwênàn : thak'eǹ Apâyamahârâza.*

1120. Lord of the Golden Palace, the Great King of Punishment.

B.E. 1126=A.D. 1764.

No. 15 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1135. *Shwênàn : thak'eǹ Sandasumanarâza.*

1135. Lord of the Golden Palace, Happy Lord of the Moon. Sumana was also the name of one of the 24 Buddhas and the allusion may therefore be classical.

B.E. 1137=A.D. 1773.

No. 16 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1140. *Shwêpyîthak'eǹ D'ammaritrâza.*

1140. Lord of the Golden Land, Lord of the Kingdom of the Law.

B.E. 1140=A.D. 1778. D'ammaritrâza=Dhammarâjrâja, and is so written in Burmese.

No. 17 obv. and rev. are inscribed :—

1144. *Shwênàn : thak'eǹ Mahâthamadarâza.*

1144. Lord of the Golden Palace, Lord of the Great Peace (Mahâsamâdhirâja).
B.E. 1144=A.D. 1782.

This was the last native King of Arakan, for two years later, B.E. 1046 (=A.D. 1784), the country passed into the hands of Mintarâji or Bôdòp'ayâ, who at once issued a coin :—

No. 18 obv. and rev. inscribed :—

1146. *Amarapûra S'inb'yûmyâ : shin Hnain-ngàn.*

1146. Country conquered by the Lord of the Many White Elephants of Amarapûra.

Capt. White's collection also contained " a small coin of the size of a four-anna piece, on which the Burmese inscription was incomplete, the reverse having a Persian and Nâgarî Inscription." He also had 6 other silver coins of the Burmese mintage " from Re. 1 to one anna."

As will have been already seen, Bôdòp'ayâ issued other copper coins than those above described, with obv. two fish and rev. inscribed as separately shown. These were struck in 1781, the year of his accession, and must therefore have had no connection with Arakan, but must have been struck in Amarapûra before he conquered the Southern land. See Plate II.

D-II. Coins of Mindôn Min.

King Mindôn (1852-1878) introduced a coinage about 1861, though he antedated many coins to 1852, the year of his accession. That he had no coinage in 1855 is proved by Yule's remark to that effect in his *Ava*, p. 258.[41]

Gold Coins.

There were five gold values.[42] The two highest are now exceedingly rare, if not, in actual fact, known only by a single specimen of each.

(1) *Shwê-kyatsî*, gold rupee (more strictly, tickal) piece. It corresponds to the *mohar* of India.[43] I only know this from a specimen in Col. Prideaux's collection, of which the following is a description. Size : same as fig. 34, Plate II. Obverse : a *chinthê*,[44] round which are the words, *chinthê*. Reverse : a wreath, round which are the words *Yedanâbôn Nêbyîdò* (Ratana puṇṇa=Mandalay, the Royal Residence), and inside the wreath 1 *kyàt thông ; dingâ* (coin for use as one rupee or tickal).

In addition to this coin, there were occasionally struck at the Mint gold " rupees " of the peacock type by way of medals and presents. Any friend of the officials could take a piece of gold to the Mint and get it struck with the silver dies, taking it away with him as a curiosity or keepsake. At one time there were a good many of these gold " rupees " about, and they may still be procurable in Mandalay. They were never, however, coin of the realm, although they would be true *mohars*, and would have the same description of value endorsed on the reverse, as on the coin just described, *viz* : | *kyàt thông : dingâ* (see Plate II, fig. 34).

(2) *Shwê-ngâmûzî*, or gold five-*mû*-piece, that is, half a gold rupee, as 10 *mû* (gold)= Rupee 1 (see fig. 24, Plate II). It corresponds to the half *mohar* of India, and I may note that to the Burman the English sovereign, the French louis or napoleon, and similar coins were, when I made these notes in 1890 or thereabouts, all *shwê-ngâmûzîs*. It is extremely rare. My specimen is the only one I ever saw, but others I believe existed then. King Mindôn intended to throw them into circulation largely, and had the dies cut and a certain number struck off ; but he died shortly afterwards, and King Thibaw did nothing in the matter. Such was my information ; but it should be noted that *tô*: on this coin is the sign of Thibaw and not of Mindôn ; Thibaw having been born on a Tuesday, of which day the *tô* : is the ruling spirit.

[41] We learn incidentally from Bowring (*Siam*, vol. II, p. 33), who gives a long extract from *Three Months in Cambodia* (Mission Press, Singapore), that the modern coinage of Cambodia was introduced in 1854 from machines sent by a British firm at Singapore.

[42] There was no gold currency apparently in Siam in 1900, gold coins being merely struck to be used as commemorative medals. *JASB. Proc.*, 1887, p. 149 : Bowring, *Siam*, vol. I, p. 257.

[43] Every Burman I questioned on the subject denied the existence of any such issue.

[44] The *chinthê* is to a Burman a lion. It was the symbol of Mindôn, because he was born on a Saturday. See *Shway Yoe*, (Scott), *The Burman*, p. 12.

See Shwe Yoe, *The Burman*, p. 7 : Obverse : a *tô*: and *tô : tazêktò* 1240 (=A.D. 1878). Reverse : *Yedanâbôn Nêbyîdò*: 5 *mû ḅôṅg diṅgâ ;* (royal stamp of the *tô ;* and coin for use as 5 *mû*.)

(3) *Shwê-mạtsî*, gold one-quarter piece : the quarter *mohar*. See Plate II, fig. 25. It was still common in 1890. Obverse : a *chinḍê*, or mythological lion, and *chinḍê tazêktò* 1228 (royal stamp of the lion, 1866 A.D.). Reverse : *Yedanâbôn Nêbyîdò* and 2 *mû* 1 *pè ḅôṅg : diṅgâ :* (coin for use as 2½ *mû*), as 2 *pè*=1 *mû*.

(4) *Shwê-mûzî*, gold *mû* piece. See Plate II, fig. 26. This was never common. Obverse : a peacock and *tazêktò* (royal stamp). Reverse : a wreath, *Yedanâbôn Nêbyîdò* and 1 *mû ḅôṅg* : 1214 (for use as 1 *mû*, 1852 A.D.). The date is the accession-date, as above explained.

(5) *Shwê-pèzî*, gold *pè* piece. See figs. 27 and 28, Plate II. Two varieties, neither of which was ever common. Firstly: obverse, same as the *shwê-mạtsî*: reverse, 1 *pè ḅôṅg ; diṅgâ* :(coin for use as 1 *pè*) and *Yedanâbôn Nêbyîdò*. Secondly: obverse, same as the *shwê- mûzî*: reverse, 1 *pè ḅôṅg* 1214.

Silver Coins.

The silver coins were R. 1, R. ½, R. ¼, R. 1/10, R. 1/20 ; but in practice they were current as R. 1, 8as., 4as., 2as., and 1 anna.[45] They all had the same device. Obverse : a peacock with *tazêktò*. Reverse : a wreath, outside it *Yedanâbôn Nêbyîdò*, and inside it the value and the same date, in each case 1214=A.D. 1852. The values were stated thus :—1 *kyạt ḅôṅg : diṅgâ :*, coin to be used as R. 1 : 5 *mû ḅôṅg :* to be used as 5 *mû*=R. ½ : 1 *mạt ḅôṅg ;* to be used as one-quarter=R. ¼ : 1 *mû ḅôṅg :* to be used as 1 *mû*=R. 1/10 : 1 *pè ḅôṅg :* to be used as 1 *pè*=R. 1/20. All these coins were common, but being thrown out of currency they tended to become rare, especially those of the lower values. See figs. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, Plate II.

Concurrently with these were struck, in the earlier part of Mindôn's reign, quite a separate set of silver coins, which were exceedingly rare, and I was able only to procure a specimen of the R. 1 : see Plate V, fig. 47. But I had seen in other collections R. 1, and R. ½, and R. ¼, and later I saw three specimens of the quarter rupee : see plate VI, figs. 1, 2 & 3. All have the same device. Obverse : a peacock of the type of fig. 34, Plate II, but on a stippled ground and no superscription. Reverse : precisely the same as for the like values in the set above described.

There is yet another variety of rupee figured by Phayre (*Int. Num. Or.*, vol. III, pt. I, Plate V, 3), with the remark that it was issued for currency by Mindôn. It was sufficiently rare, for neither myself nor any other local collector I could consult seemed to have ever even heard of it, except in Phayre's account. Obverse : a peacock, tail spread and wings open, in a ring of rosettes : no superscription. Reverse : *Thekkayit* 1214 (Burmese era, 1214=1852 A.D.) in a wreath surrounded by rosettes. It will be perceived that this coin essentially differs in many particulars from those above described.[46]

Scott, *The Burman*, pp. 299–300, says that, in 1882, the Burmese rupees were not up to standard, being worth only fourteen annas, but his statements on the subject of coinage must be received with caution.

Incorrectly struck silver coins through bad minting, which should not be confounded with the *taungbạnnî* coins to be described later on, were quite common until 1890 in Mandalay, and I procured several typical specimens, which I presented to the British Museum. See also Plate II, fig. 39, which I found in circulation in Mandalay, though it was an unstamped rupee from Mindôn's Mint.

Copper Coins.

Mindôn issued a fine copper coin, not at all common even in 1890. Obverse : a peacock and *udaung tazêktò* 1227 (the royal stamp of the peacock, 1865 A.D.). Reverse : a wreath and inside it *Yêdanâbôn Nêbyîdò*—1 *pè ḅôṅg* : *dîṅgâ* :*î* 4 *bôn tabôn* (Ratanapuṇṇa, the Royal residence—coin to be used as one-fourth part of 1 *pè*). See fig. 34, Plate II.

[45] There are two good specimens in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Mint Collection, Nos. 646, 647. Other specimens are 881, 882. No. 880 is a one-tenth rupee piece.

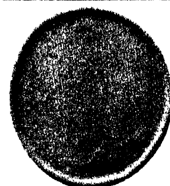
[46] See No. 871 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Mint Collection, described as "Rupee, Ava Mint," in the Catalogue, 1883, and as being referred to in Mint letter No. 791, 31 January 1854.



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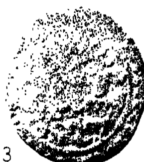
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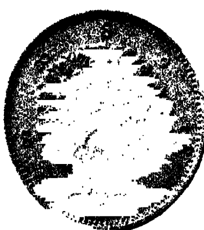
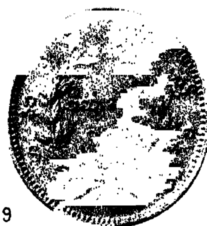

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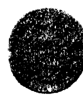
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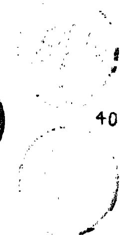
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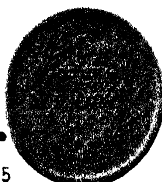
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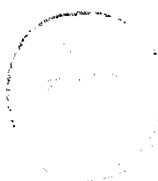
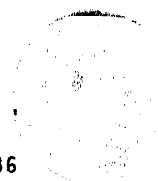

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AUTOTYPE.

Mindôn is also credited with a *tô :* copper piece, described below, but this I believe to have been a genuine issue of Thibaw.

Iron Coins.

The iron coinage of King Mindôn was in circulation for a very short time. The two specimens I procured and gave to the British Museum are the only ones I saw. So far as their conditions permitted me to learn, they seemed to have been struck from the dies used for the peacock copper coins. I was told that they were forced upon the people and passed for one pie, or one-third of the same king's peacock copper pice just described.

Although I do not think that the specimens above noted were, when first procured, more than 22 years old, they had become so corroded by rust as only to be legible even in a small degree by rubbing them gently and so making the embossed surfaces appear red against a black ground. They are in themselves the strongest proof possible of the uselessness of coining iron.

Pyrard de Laval, Hak. Soc. ed., vol. I, p. 235, alludes to an iron coinage of the West Coast of India and of Portuguese Goa in the early seventeeth century A.D., which he says had a purely local currency, being rejected at Cochin, then a Portuguese possession. See also vol. II, p. 68.

Lead Coins.

Lead coins at the time of the British occupation of Upper Burma were common enough, but they had disappeared by 1890, and were afterwards only to be found in collectors' cabinets.[47]

Mindôn's Lead Coins were of three kinds.

(1) Obverse : a hare, remains of *tazêktò* and clearly 1231 or A.D. 1869. Reverse : blank, and obviously always so. The specimen figured in fig. 36, Plate II, is the only specimen I have seen of this particular issue out of which anything can be made. But I have possessed other illegible specimens of lead coins from Burma, which were evidently of the same issue from their weight and size. The figures of the date are not perceptible in the plate, but by a careful handling of the original coin they are displayed. The hare as representing the moon and the peacock as representing the sun, are the crests of the Alompra (Alaungp'ayâ) dynasty, which claimed (a mythical) descent from both the lunar and the solar lines of India. Its value was probably one-fourth of a pice.

(2) Obverse : a hare and *yôn tazêktò* 1231 (royal stamp of the hare, 1869 A.D.). Reverse : *Kyê : nî : dingâ : î* 4 *bôn tabôn* (4th part of a copper coin). The words are inside a wreath. See fig. 37, Plate II.

(3) Obverse : the same as the preceding. Reverse : *Kyê : nî : dingâ : î* 8 *bôn tabôn* (8th part of a copper coin). See fig. 38, Plate II.

The "copper coin" in the above cases is evidently the "peacock" pice above mentioned.

In letters to the *Academy* in 1890, I said (p. 346) that Thibaw had imitated this coinage, because it bore date B.E. 1241=1879 A.D., but Dr. E. Nicholson in a letter, dated 20th October, 1890, pointed out (p. 371) that he had in 1870 a large quantity sent him of these coins dated B.E. 1231=1869 A.D. Plate II will show that Dr. Nicholson was right and that by some error I had read the Burmese ၃ (3) for the symbol ၄ (4), and so read 1879 for 1869.

Scott (Shway Yoe) in *The Burman, his Life and Notions*, p. 299, makes a curious mistake as to these coins, when he says : "The least coins are simply blobs of metal like a spherical bullet squeezed out of shape. I have examined thousands of them, but seen never a hare." This statement that the hare is not to be seen on these coins is a decided error, for as a matter of fact it is there as often as not, and the statement reads like a mistake being made between some local Shân or Siamese issue for Burmese.[48]

(To be continued.)

[47] At the Bangkok Exhibition in 1882, "a large collection of very old and curious lead [Siamese] coins" were shown. *JASB. Proc.*, 1887, p. 148.

[48] Lead coins were current in Java in 1618 A.D. *Indo-China*, 2nd Ser., vol. I, p. 182 : in Banjermessin in 1368–1643 A.D. ; *op. cit.*, p. 229.

MAR SAPOR AND MAR PRODH.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

IN 1504, when Alfonso d'Albuquerque, afterwards the second Viceroy of Goa, was in Quilon, some of the Christians there—he found 25,000 of them in Quilon[1]— "said that two saints, who were buried there (in the Church of Our Lady of Mercy) [2] in two chapels, had made the church in a miraculous manner." "And the Christians of the land (Quilon) had to take care to govern and rule the church, which was called 'Our Lady of Mercy.' . . . . There were three altars on which stood three crosses, the centre one of gold, the two others of silver." (*Commentaries of Albuquerque*, Hakluyt Society, 1875, I, 14.)

The saints referred to here are Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh, who have the rare distinction of being perhaps the only canonized bishops of Malabar.

In 1599 we have the following interesting details recorded of these two saints. "Whereas in this diocese there are many churches dedicated to Mar Xobro and Mar Phrod, who are commonly styled Saints, of whom there is nothing known, only it is commonly said, 'That they came into these parts and wrought miracles, and returned afterwards to Babylon, from whence they came, others affirming that they died in Coulon, there being nothing writ of them that is authentic, neither does it appear that they were ever canonized by the Church, but on the contrary, since they came from Babylon, there is just cause to suspect that they might be heretics': wherefore the Synod doth command, that all the churches which are dedicated to them, be dedicated to All the Saints, and that the festivities used to be kept to their honour, and the 'Nerchas' that used to be given upon their days, shall be given on All Saints' day, being the first of November: and for the future there be no more churches dedicated to them, churches and festivities being never to be dedicated, nor prayers made to any but to saints canonized and approved of by the Church." (Synod of Diamper, Session 8, Decree 25, as given in Hough's *Christianity in India*, II, 659.)

Additional details are found in a Malayalam version of the Diamper decrees in a MS. copied in A.D. 1825. Here is a translation of the decree relating to these saints. "There are in the Diocese of Malabar certain churches dedicated to certain persons not recognised as saints by the Church. While this Church was governed by Bishops of unorthodox and Nestorian faiths, while they (the bishops) were so, it was mostly easy for them to get churches built in the name of heretics whom they regarded as saints. For it was customary to offer prayer and benediction in the Church in the name of such persons. This Holy Synod, therefore, orders the priests that the names of the churches be made known to the honourable Bishop (Menezes) at this Synod or on his visitation. In Paṭṭamane Paṛavûr, Diamper, and other places in particular there are churches in the name of the 'Kâdîśâs' (saints Sapor and Prodh), who are, in ignorance of their identity, called saints because they came to this country

Observations by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

1 Does d'Albuquerque speak of 25,000 Christians at Quilon alone, or at Quilon and the district ?—H.H. [Perhaps the latter.—T.K.J.]

2 I am surprised at this title of Our Lady of Mercy. Would that have been a Syrian title of a Church to Our Lady ? Gouvea (fol. 94v, col. 1) says that the Church of the Portuguese within their fort was dedicated to St. Thomas and that it was originally the Church of the St. Thomas Christians, who surrendered it to the Portuguese and built a church of their own, half a league from the fortress, near Upper Coulão, dedicated to Our Lady. The Church of St. Thomas is said by Gouvea to have been built by Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh, 733 years before 1602. If he wrote 783, and the 8 was taken for a 3 by the printer, the founding falls in Q.E. 1. In 1505 the ancient church of Quilon was burnt down with several Portuguese and Syrians and a Syrian deacon in it. Correa, *Lendas da India*, Lisboa, I (1858), p. 594, and de Souza, *Or. Conq.*, II. Conq. 1, Div. 2, para. 16, who says that after the burning of the Church near the sea the Syrians went to Upper Coulão and the Portuguese built their church within the fort on the site of the earlier church. Whitehouse identifies (p. 299) Upper Coulão with Calecoulam, which is Kayankulam, and speaks of 'Kalicoulam Scherravi.' What means 'Scherravi,' which comes close enough to your Savaris or Sabr Iso ?—H.H. [Scherravi is Cheṛavâ, a place name.—T.K.J.]

and wrought many miracles. But there is no record of what they did, neither is there any regular tradition. We think they were Nestorians. So the Holy Synod commands that all the churches bearing this name be dedicated to All Saints and that the festivals of those churches be celebrated on their day, November 1. And the festival held in their name on April 19th should not henceforward be celebrated, nor should churches be built in their name."[3]

These are the earliest surviving documents yet known (to me) about these two saints. There may be others extant in Syriac and other languages in Malabar and in the country from which they came. The accounts of later writers do not shed any light on the obscure portions of the history of these Kadisas (Syriac : holy men, saints). Some of those are mentioned below in chronological order.

1. Gouvea : *Jornada,* 97. [Menezes in 1599, was shown a set of three copper-plates granted by the King who founded Quilon, to the Têvallakkara Church erected by Mar Xabro and Mar Phrod.] See Mackenzie's *Christianity in Travancore* (1901), p. 60. Also Hough's *Christianity in India* (1839), II, 170, 171. (These plates may have been those given to the Quilon Tarisa Church in the latter half of the ninth century.)

2. De Souza, *Oriente Conquistado* (1710), II. Conq. 1, Div. 2, para. 16. [Archbishop Roz had read in Syriac books [4] about these saints and their miracles.] Were these MSS. burned by Menezes or are copies still discoverable in Malabar ?

3. Assemani : *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1719-1728). [They came in A.D. 922.] [5]

4. Le Quien : *Oriens Christianus* (1740), II. 1275. See *Travancore State Manual,* II. 144. [Two Bishops came to Quilon about A.D. 880. They were very holy, built many churches, made the Christian religion prevail in the kingdom of Diamper and gained converts in many places in Malabar, especially in Quilon.] See Giamil's *Genuinae Relationes,* etc. (1902), pp. 582—584.

5. Moens : *Memorandum* of 1781. See *Dutch in Malabar* (Madras, 1911), p. 173. [Two Bishops, Mar Sapor and Mar Peroses, came from Babylon=Modaim or Seleucia after A.D. 829.] *Loc. cit.,* Galletti's footnotes 2 and 3. [Mar Sapir and Mar Prodh came from Bagdad. Cf. *Milne Rae,* p. 108.]

6. Dr. Forster : footnote, A.D. 1798, at p. 91 of Fr. Paulinus' *Voyage to the East Indies.* 1776-89 (London, 1800). [Two Nestorian priests, Mar Sapor and Mar Parges, came from Babylon to Quilon in A.D. 822.]

7. Richard and Giraud : *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1835), Tom. II, p. 176. [They were holy men.]

8. Hough : *Christianity in India* (1839), I. pp. 197, 198. [Two Syrian ecclesiastics, Mar Sapores and Mar Pheroz, came from Babylon to Quilon in A.D. 920.]

9. Ittoop : *Syrian Christian Church of Malabar* (in Malayalam, 1896), pp. 95, 96. [Two Bishops, Mar Śâbôṛ and Mar Aprôt, came from Babylon to Quilon in A.D. 825, *i.e.,* M.E. 1. They came in a ship belonging to a merchant called Śavaṛîs, were given a grand reception by the Archdeacon and his people, held interviews with the ruling princes, toured the country, built churches, reformed the Church, made conversions, and raised the whole Christian community in the estimation of others.]

10. Mackenzie : *Christianity in Travancore,* (*Travancore State Manual,* 1906, II. p. 142.) [Two Bishops, Mar Sapir and Mar Prodh, were at Quilon about A.D. 825.]

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3 The passage you quote from a Malayalam MS. is not in the decrees of the Diamper Council. Can you state the Session and decree ? I have looked carefully twice through the decrees, but cannot find the passage. It is not in the course of the *Jornada* either. I find the first passage quoted by you from Hough in Session 8, decree 25.—H.H. [The numbers in the Malayalam version, which is fuller, do not tally with those in the printed one.—T.K.J.]

4 No book on Mar Sapor is mentioned in the list of forbidden books drawn up at the Council, which were to be burned. De Souza, *loc. cit., supra,* speaks, of a Syriac MS. read by Roz in which a miracle was attributed to Mar Johanan of Cranganore before the arrival of the Portuguese.

5 Assemani gives A.D. 922, and Le Quien, quoted by Raulin (p. 435), gives about A.D. 800.

The following are some of the Malabar churches in their name [6] :—

1. Quilon Kadisa Church (now Jacobite), private property of a clan of Christians called Quilon Mutalâḷis [7] (the title Mutalâḷi means chief man, capitalist, merchant), who trace their descent from Sabr Iso (the Savaris of Ittoop, No. 9 above), who refounded Quilon in A.D. 825, an event from which the Malabar or Quilon era [M.E. or Q.E.] began. He built a Church there, of which the present Kadisa church may be said to be a poor representative. In two sets of copper-plates granted to the original church in the latter half of the ninth century it is called the Tarisa Church, and the founder was Maruvân Sabir Îśô, which has become Śavaris and Bâṛêśu in Malabar tradition. (For the text and translation of these plates in Malayalam see the present writer's *Malabar Christian Copper-Plates*, Chs. 3 and 4.) It must have been in this Tarisa Church that Sapor and Prodh were interred. (Maruvan is a form of the Indian Parsi name Mehervan.)

2. Kâyaṅkuḷam Kadisa Church (now Jacobite). This appears to have been built in A.D. 829. See *Travancore Almanac and Directory*, Topographical Sketch. But the local tradition is that it was built in the first year of the Quilon or Malabar era, A.D. 825.

3. Mâvêlikkara Kadisa Church (now Jacobite), which was originally in Kaṇṭiyûṛ, close by. Probably it was this Kaṇṭiyûṛ Church that was built by the Kadisas, or in their name.

4. Diamper All Saints' Church (now Roman Catholic), said to have been the church of the Malabar Christian royal family. See below.

5. Parur St. Thomas Church (now Roman Catholic), believed to have been founded by St. Thomas the Apostle. In 1599 both these (4 and 5) were in the name of the twin saints. (See Decree quoted above.)

All these places, given in the order of their location from South to North, were in different principalities about A.D. 825, not under one king as now.

The date of the landing of these saints in Quilon may be taken to be *circa* 825, *i.e.*, a little before or in the beginning of the Quilon era. Malabar tradition and the two sets of copper-plates mentioned above, point to this date. " In the year of our Lord 825, corresponding to the year 1 of the Quilon era," says an old MS., " two Bishops,[8] Mar Châvôṛ and Mar Aprôt came with a merchant Savaṛîśu by name."

Mâṛ and Mâṛân, from the Syriac, are applied in Malayalam to Bishops, Patriarchs, Saints, Apostles, the Pope, and Christ, *e.g.*, Mar Dionysius, Bishop ; Maran Mar Ignatius, Patriarch; Mar Geevarugees, St. George ; Mar Tômmâ Sḷîhâ, St. Thomas the Apostle ; Maran Îśô Miśihâ, Lord Jesus the Messiah. St. Mary is Maṛtta Mariyam. Mar Pâppâ, H. H. the Pope.

[6] Gouvea speaks of a Church founded by Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh at Quilon, (*Jornada*, fol. 5r. col. 1 ; fol. 94 v, col. 1); at Diamper (l. 2, c. 2, fol. 75v, cols. 1-2) ; at Calicoulam, near Quilon, (l. 2, c. 7, fol. 93r, col. 2 ; fol. 93v, col. 1) ; at Parur (l. 2, c. 15, fol. 111 v, col. 2). The church at Quilon was not dedicated to Sapor and Prodh, but to St. Thomas (l. 2, c. 8, fol. 94v, col. 1).

Fr. Paulinus, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae, 1794, pp. 267–268, mentions Romo-Syrian churches dedicated to SS. Gervasius and Protasius : (1) at Odiamper or Diamper ; (2) at Parur ; (3) at Codamalur ; Jacobite churches, (1) at Agaparambil ; (2) at Cayamcoulam. By the way, Dames, *Duarte Barbosa*, II, 96, n. 3, also gives A.D. 829 for the foundation of a church at Calicoullam (Kayankulam). No reference given.

How did Paulinus get these titles of the churches ? From Gouvea ? I doubt if he got them all there. It is a fact that Menezes wanted all the churches dedicated to Sapor and Prodh to be changed to the title of All Saints. Diamperur (old) is now All Saints, in the Madras *Catholic Directory*, 1924, p. 264 ; Parur Kottakavu is St. Thomas (p. 265) ; Kothanallur (p. 255) and Acaparamp (p. 261) are under the title of SS. Gervase and Protase.—H.H. [Codamalur is not Kothanallur.—T.K.J.]

Du Perron's list of 1758 in Whitehouse (pp. 293–299) agrees with Paulinus for Diamper, Paru, Agaparambil ; it adds Coramalur (Paulians' Codamalur) and Ellour, but speaks of a Church of the H. Virgin at Kalicoulam.

[7] Your Quilon 'Mutalâḷis' must be compared with John de' Marignolli's Quilon *Modilial*, Christian chiefs, the owners of the pepper. This was in 1346–47. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, II (1866), p. 381.—H.H.

[8] On Mar Prodh, see *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, XIV. 681, art. by Mgr. Medlycott. Paulinus on Mar Sapor, *Ind. Or. Christ.*, XXII, 20 ; on Knayi Thomas, *ibid.*, XXII, 19.68.238.

BUDDHIST WOMEN.

BY DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

AN account of some famous women who figure prominently in the early Buddhist texts is given in the following pages. The account will show that women were not a negligible factor in the ancient Buddhist community of India.

Abhirûpanandâ was the daughter of a Śâkya noble named Khemaka. She was called Nandâ the Fair for her great beauty and amiability. Her beloved kinsman, Carabhûta, died on the day on which she was to choose him from amongst her suitors. She had to leave the world against her will. Though she entered the order, she could not forget that she was beautiful. Fearing that the Buddha would rebuke her, she used to avoid his presence. The Buddha knew that the time had come for her to acquire knowledge and asked Mahâpajâpati Gotamî to bring all the *bhikkhuṇîs* before him to receive instruction. Nandâ sent a proxy for her. The Buddha said, " Let no one come by proxy." So she was compelled to come to him. The Buddha by his supernatural power conjured up a beautiful woman, who became transformed into an old and fading figure. It had the desired effect, and *Abhirûpanandâ* became an *arhat*. (*Therîgâthâ Commy.*, pp. 25–26.)

Jentî or *Jentâ* was born in a princely family of the Licchavis at Vaiśâlî. She won arhatship after hearing the *dhamma* preached by the Buddha. She developed the seven Saṁbojjhaṅgas. (*Ibid.*, p. 27).

Cittâ was born at Râjagaha in the family of a leading burgess. When she was of age, she one day heard the master preach and believed in his doctrine. She was ordained by Mahâpajâpati the Gotamî. In her old age she climbed the vulture's peak and lived like a recluse. Her insight expanded and she won arhatship. (*Ibid.*, p. 33.)

Sukkâ was born at Râjagaha in the family of a rich householder. When she attained years of discretion, she believed in the Master's teaching and became a lay disciple. One day she heard Dhammadinnâ preach and was so greatly moved that she renounced the world and followed Dhammadinnâ. She performed all the exercises for acquiring insight and very soon attained arhatship with *paṭisambhidâ*. Thereupon she became a great preacher and was attended by 500 *bhikkhus*. One day, along with the other *bhikkhuṇîs*, she went to the hermitage of the *bhikkhuṇîs* and taught the Buddha's doctrine in such a way that everybody listened to her with rapt attention; even the tree-spirit was so much moved that it began to praise her. At this the people were excited and came to the sister and listened attentively. (*Ibid.*, pp. 57–61.)

Selâ was born in the kingdom of Âḷavî, as the king's daughter. She was also known as Âḷavikâ. One day, while yet a maid, she went with the king and heard the Master preach. She became a believer and lay disciple. A few days after, she took orders and performed the exercises for insight. She subjugated the complexities of thought, word and deed and soon won arhatship. Thereafter she lived at Sâvatthî when the Buddha was there. She entered Andhavana to meditate after finishing her midday meal. Mâra once tried in vain to persuade her to choose the sensuous life (*Ibid.*, p. 61, f. Cf. *Saṁyutta Nikâya*, part 1, p. 128).

Sîhâ was born at Vesâlî as the daughter of General Śîha's sister. She was named after her maternal uncle. When she grew up, she heard the Master teaching the Norm to her maternal uncle and became a believer. She was permitted by her parents to enter the order. For seven years she could not acquire insight as her mind became always inclined to objects of external charm. Then she intended to die. She took a noose, hung it round the bough of a tree and fastened it round her neck. Thus she succeeded in impelling her mind to insight which grew within and she won arhatship. She then took off the rope from her neck and went back to her hermitage. (*Ibid.*, pp. 79–80).

Sundarî Nandâ was born in the royal family of the Śâkyas. She was known as the beautiful Nandâ. Thinking about the fact that her elder brother, her mother, her brother,

her sister and her nephew had renounced the world, she too left it. Even after her renunciation, she was obsessed with the idea of her beauty and would not approach the Lord lest she should ber eproached for her folly. The Lord taught her in the same way as he did in the case of Nandâ the Fair. She listened to the Master's teaching and enjoyed the benefit of the fruition of the first stage of sanctification. He then instructed her saying, "Nandâ, there is in this body not even the smallest essence. It is but a heap of bones covered with flesh and besmeared with blood under the shadow of decay and death." Afterwards she became an *arhat.* (*Ibid.*, pp. 80 f.; cf. *Manorathapûraṇî*, pp. 217–218).

Khemâ was born in the royal family of Sâgala. She was very beautiful and her skin was like gold. She became the consort of Bimbisâra. One day she heard that the Buddha was in the habit of speaking ill of beauty, since then she did not appear before the Buddha. The king was a chief supporter of the Buddha. He asked his court-poets to compose a song on the glories of the Veluvana hermitage and to sing the song very loudly so that the queen might hear it. The royal order was carried out. Khemâ heard of the beauty of the hermitage and with the king's consent she came to the Veluvana Vihâra, where the Buddha was staying at that time. When she was led before the Buddha, the latter conjured up a woman like a celestial nymph who stood fanning him with a palm leaf. Khemâ observed this woman to be more beautiful than she and was ashamed of her own grace. Sometime after she noticed again that the woman was passing from youth to middle age and then to old age, till with broken teeth, grey hair, and wrinkled skin, she fell on earth with her palm leaf. Then thought Khemâ that her beautiful body would meet with the same fate as that of the nymph. Then the Master, who knew her thoughts, said that persons subject to lust suffer from the result of their action, while those freed from all bondage forsake the world. When the Master had finished speaking, Khemâ, according to the commentary, attained arhatship and according to the *Apadâna,* she was established in the fruition of the first stage of sanctification and with the king's permission she entered the order before she became an *arhat.* Thereafter she made a name for her insight and was ranked foremost amongst the *bhikkhuṇîs* possessing great wisdom. In vain Mâra tried to tempt her with sensuous ideas. (*Ibid.*, pp. 126 f.; cf. *Manorathapûraṇî*, p. 205; cf. *Aṅguttara*, n. 1, p. 25).

Anopamâ was the daughter of a banker named Majjha living in Sâketa. She was of unique beauty. She was sued by many sons of bankers, higher officers of the State, but she thought that there was no happiness in household life. She went to the Master and heard his teachings. Her intelligence matured. She strove hard for insight and was established in the third fruition. On the seventh day thereafter she attained arhatship. (*Ibid.*, pp. 138–139.)

Rohiṇî was born at Vesâlî in the house of a very prosperous Brahman. When grown up she went to the Master and heard him preach the doctrine. She obtained *sotâpattiphalaṁ.* She converted her parents to Buddha's faith and got permission from them and entered the order. She performed the exercises for acquiring insight and very soon attained arhatship (*Ibid.*, pp. 214 f.)

Subhâ was the daughter of a certain goldsmith of Râjagaha. She was very beautiful and was therefore called Subhâ. When grown up she saw the Master and believed in his doctrine. The Master saw the maturity of her moral faculties and taught her the *dhamma.* She was afterwards established in the fruition of the first stage of sanctification. Thereafter she entered the order under Mahâpajâpati Gotamî. She strove hard for insight and in course of time she won arhatship. (*Ibid.*, pp. 236 f.).

Tissâ was born at Kapilavastu among the Sâkyas. She renounced the world with Mahâpajâpati Gotamî and became spiritually so developed that she attained arhatship. (*Ibid.*, pp. 11–13.)

Sumedhâ, daughter of King Koñca of Mantâvatî, was averse to the pleasures of senses from her childhood. She renounced the world hearing the doctrine of the Buddha from the *bhikkhuṇîs*. Very soon she acquired insight and attained arhatship (*Ibid.*, 272 f.)

Visâkhâ was the daughter of Sumanâdevî, wife of Dhanañjayaseṭṭhi, son of Muṇḍakaseṭṭhi. Her abode was at Bhaddiyanagara in the kingdom of Aṅga. When seven years old Buddha with the *bhikkhusaṁgha* went to Bhaddiyanagara. Sumanâdevî was one of the advisers of the king. Visâkhâ with 500 female companions and 500 chariots received Buddha, who gave instructions to her according to her nature and she obtained *sotâpattiphalaṁ*. The Buddha was invited to Visâkhâ's house. Visâkhâ who was endowed with five kinds of beauty was married to Puṇṇavaddhana of Sâvatthî. The presents sent by the citizens of Sâvatthî for her, were distributed by her among the citizens with great courtesy. She made the citizens her own relatives. She refused to salute the naked heretics who were worshipped by her father-in-law. Her father-in-law was converted to Buddhism through her efforts. Once Visâkhâ invited the *bhikkhus* and her father-in-law on hearing the sermon obtained *sotâpattiphalaṁ* (*D.C.*, I, 384 f.)

On the death of her grandchild, who was very dear to her, Visâkhâ went to see the Buddha with wet clothes and wet hair. The Buddha asked her whether she would be satisfied if all the people of Sâvatthî became her sons and grandsons. She replied in the affirmative. The Master asked her as to how many people met with their death at Sâvatthî. Visâkhâ said from one to ten. The Buddha told her, " Just think whether you would be free from wet clothes and wet hair". Visâkhâ said that she did not want so many sons and grandsons, because acquisition of more sons and grandsons would bring greater suffering (*Udâna*, 91-92).

Visâkhâ, mother of Migâra, was the foremost of the female supporters of the Buddha (*A.N.*, 1, p. 26). Once on a sabbath day she went to the Buddha while the latter was in her palace named Pubbârâma. Buddha instructed Visâkhâ thus, " There were three kinds of *uposatha* and the *ariya uposatha* is the best of the *uposathas*. The Master then said that in order to observe *ariya uposatha* one should meditate on the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgha. *Sîlas* must be unbroken and fully observed. One should also meditate on the qualities of gods. One should follow Arhats who follow precepts throughout their lives. By observing *ariya uposatha* one may obtain great happiness and may be reborn in one of the heavens commencing from the Câtumahârâjika to the Paranimmittavasavattî and enjoy great celestial happiness there (*A.N.*, I, 205–215). Visâkhâ was further instructed by the Buddha thus, " Dependence on others is suffering, independence brings happiness ". (*Udâna*, p. 18). Visâkhâ once blamed the *bhikkhus* for not allowing her grandson to be ordained during the lent, as owing to this delay her grandson's mind was changed. (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, 1, 153.) She once went to the Buddha and invited him together with the *bhikkhus* to take food at her house the next morning. Heavy rains fell on the following morning and the *bhikkhus*, as they had no bathing costumes, bathed themselves naked. Visâkhâ came to know this fact from her maid servant who was sent to call the *bhikkhus*. The Buddha together with the *bhikkhus* came to her house. She fed the Buddha and the *bhikkhus* satisfactorily. After they had finished their meal, Visâkhâ prayed to the Buddha for the following boons :—As long as she lived, she would give garments for the rainy season to the *bhikkhus*, food to the guests and food to those going abroad, diet to the sick *bhikkhus*, food to the sick—nurses, medicine for the sick *bhikkhus*, rice gruel to the *bhikkhus* daily and bathing garments to the *bhikkhuṇîs* (*V.P.*, vol. 1, pp. 290–292). From this fact it is evident that Visâkhâ introduced bathing garments for the *bhikkhuṇîs*. It was Visâkhâ who offered to the Buddha a napkin which he accepted. (*V.P.*, 1, 296). We are further informed that Visâkhâ, as soon as she heard of the advent of the quarrelsome Kosambian *bhikkhus*, approached the Buddha to take his advice as to how she should deal with them. The Buddha advised her to

offer charities to the two parties of the quarrelsome Kosambian monks, (*V.P.*, 1, 356). Visâkhâ prepared a golden water-pot for the Buddha. A *sâmaṇera* named Sumaṇa brought water in that pot for the Buddha from Anotatta lake. (*D.C.*, IV, p. 135.) She offered a water pot and a broom to the Buddha, which he accepted and also instructed the *bhikkhus* to use them. Once she went to the Buddha and offered a palm-leaf fan, which he accepted (*V.P.*, II, 129-130). Visâkhâ was so very kind to the *bhikkhus* that she built a mansion for them, The *bhikkhus* at first hesitated to use it, but afterwards asked for Buddha's permission which was granted. (*V.P.*, II, 169).

Visâkhâ once went to the hermitage of Khadiravaṇiyarevata, but she found it to be in the midst of thorns and not fit for human habitation. (*D.C.*, II, 194-195). Visâkhâ was an important personage, because among the Bhikkhus if there were any matter for reference, it was referred to her, as we find in the case of Kuṇḍadhânathera who used to walk about with a woman behind him. (*D.C.*, III, 54–55.) In the family of Visâkhâ young girls used to serve the Bhikkhus by making arrangements for their food, etc. (*D.C.*, III, 161.) Visâkhâ's son's daughter named Dattâ who was entrusted with the care of the Bhikkhusaṁgha died in her absence. Visâkhâ was very much afflicted with grief. The Budhda consoled her (*D.C.*, III, pp. 278–279).

Visâkhâ was one day going to the city garden wearing all sorts of rich ornaments amongst which may be mentioned *mahâlatâ*, an ornament of extraordinary beauty and of immense value. (Cf. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, 412.) On the way she thought why should she go to the city garden like a mere girl; it was better that she should go to the Vihâra and listen to the discourses of the Buddha. Moved by the thought, she went to the Lord, put off her ornament, *mahâlatâ* and gave it to her maid-servant to keep it and return it when she came out of the Vihâra. Thereafter she listened to the noble discourses of the Buddha. On coming out of the Vihâra, she asked for her ornament. The maid-servant said that she had left it in the Vihâra. Both of them returned to the Vihâra and found it. Visâkhâ offered it to the Lord, and under his directions built a Vihâra with the sale proceeds of the ornament, which amounted to nine crores and a *lâkh*. Visâkhâ offered to her maid-servant all the merit that accrued for constructing the Vihâra. The latter approved of her charity and died shortly afterwards. (*Vimâna-vatthu Commy.*, pp. 187–189.)

Anulá was the queen of the king of Ceylon. Surrounded by five hundred girls, she bowed to the *theras* and honoured them to her heart's content. Thera Mahinda preached *dhamma* to them. Peta stories, Vimâna stories and Saccasaṁyutta were narrated to them. When they heard the most excellent portion of the doctrine, princess Anulâ and her five hundred attendants attained *sotâpatti*. She became a believer in the Buddha, Dhamma and the Saṁgha. With her five hundred attendants she received the Pabbajjâ ordination from Saṁghamittâ Mahâtherî. (*Dîpavaṁsa*, p. 68; cf. *Mahâvaṁsa*, Geiger's Text, pp. 108, 155.)

Gopikâ was a Śâkya princess. She was pleased with the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgha. She used to observe precepts fully, became disgusted with female life and meditated in order to become a man. (*Dîgha N.*, II, 271.)

Candâ came of a Brahman family. She earned her living by begging from door to door. One day she came to the spot where Paṭâcârâ had just finished her meal. The *bhikkhunîs* saw her hungry and gave her some food to eat. She ate the food and took her seat on one side. She then listened to the discourse of the Therî and renounced the world. She practised hard to attain insight. Her knowledge matured and her determination was strong. Hence she succeeded in attaining arhatship with *paṭisaṁbhidâ* (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 120–121.)

Guttâ came of a Brahman family at Sâvatthî. In her youth household life became repugnant to her. She obtained her parents' consent and entered the order under Mahâpajâpati

Gotamî. Thereafter she could not for sometime control her mind from external interests. Then the Master gave her suitable instructions, and she attained arhatship together with *paṭisaṁbhidâ*. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 157–159.)

Vijayâ came of a certain clansmen's family of Râjagaha. She was a friend of Khemâ. When she heard that Khemâ, a king's consort, had renounced the world, she went to Khemâ, who taught her the Norm and ordained her. Very soon she won insight and after a short time attained arhatship with analytical knowledge. (*Th. Commy.* pp. 159–160.) Mâra came, to tempt her by saying, "You are young and beautiful, I am also young and beautiful, let us enjoy ourselves with music." She replied, "I find delight in *rûpa, sadda, gandha*, etc. and I don't like soft-touch. I hate very much my rotten body which is easily destructible. My ignorance is dispelled." Then Mâra left her. (*S.N.*, I, pp. 130-131).

Câlâ, Upacâlâ and *Sisupacâlâ* were born in Magadha at the village of Nâlaka as the children of a Brâhmaṇî named Surupasârî. They were younger sisters of Sâriputta. When they heard that their brother had left the world for the order, they too renounced the world and striving hard, attained arhatship. In vain Mâra tried to stir up sensual desires in them. (*Th. Commy.*, 162–163 ; cf. *S.N.*, pt. I. pp. 132–134).

Uppalavaṇṇâ came of a banker's family at Sâvatthî. Her skin was of the colour of the heart (*gabbha*) of the blue lotus. Hence she was called Uppalavaṇṇâ. Many princes and banker's sons wanted to marry her. But she renounced the world, went to the *bhikkhuṇîs* and was ordained. Thereafter one day she lighted a lamp, and by continually contemplating on the flame of the lamp, she gradually obtained arhatship with *adhiññâ* and *paṭisambhidâ*. (*Th. Commy.*, 182 ff.) She was assigned a chief place among those who had the gift of *iddhi*. (*Manorathapûraṇî*, p. 207 ff. ; *Aṅguttara N.*, I, 25).

The *Saṁyutta Nikâya* tells us that Therî Uppalavaṇṇâ went to Andhavana to meditate. There she sat at the foot of the Śâla tree. Mâra came to her and said to her, "You are sitting at the foot of a fully blossomed Śâla tree, are you not afraid of the wicked ?" She replied, "I do not care for the wicked. I do not care for you." Mâra left her. (Pt. I, pp. 131–132). After defeating Mâra, Uppalavaṇṇâ was molested by her maternal uncle's son Ânanda, who was enamoured of her beauty and who wanted to marry her. Although Uppalavaṇṇâ had become a *bhikkhuṇî*, Ânanda could not give up the desire of marrying her. Once Ânanda concealed himself in the room of the Therî under her bedstead in her absence. When the Therî returned home and lay herself down on the bedstead, Ânanda suddenly came out and committed rape on her. The Therî informed the *bhikkhuṇîs* of this fact, and through the *bhikkhuṇîs* brought this to the notice of the Buddha, who prohibited the *bhikkhuṇîs* from living in forests. (*D.C.*, II, 48–51.) Uppalavaṇṇâ Therî acquired the power of performing a miracle by coming in to the presence of the Buddha to worship him with the pomp and grandeur of an individual monarch, being surrounded by a retinue extending over 36,000 *yojanas* and this miracle was visible to an assembly extending over twelve *yojanas*. (*D.C.*, III, p. 211.)

Sumaṅgalamâtâ came of a poor family of Sâvatthî. She was married to a basket maker. She acquired great merit. One day while reflecting on all she had suffered, she was much affected and her insight quickening, she attained arhatship with analytical knowledge. (*Th. Commy.*, 28–30.)

Puṇṇâ or *Puṇṇikâ* acquired great merit in her previous birth, but owing to her pride she could not root out *kleśas* (sins). She was born of a domestic slave at Sâvatthî in the household of Anâthapiṇḍika, the banker. She obtained *sotâpattiphalaṁ* after hearing the Sîhanâda Suttanta. Afterwards Anâthapiṇḍika gave her freedom because she defeated a Brahman named Udakasuddhika. Puṇṇâ renounced worldly life and entered the order. She practised insight and very soon attained arhatship with *paṭisambhidâ*. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 199 f.).

Sundarî was born at Benares as the daughter of Sujâta, a Brahman. On her brother's death, her father became overwhelmed with grief. With the advice of Therî Vâsiṭṭhî her

father renounced the world, met the Buddha at Mithilâ, entered the order and in course of time attained arhatship. Sundarî heard of her father's renouncing the world. She sacrificed all her wealth and pleasures of all kinds. She secured her mother's consent to leave the world. She then entered the order and striving hard she attained arhatship with *paṭisaṁbhidâ*. (*Th. Commy.*, 228 f.).

Vimalâ was born at Vesâlî as the daughter of a public woman. When advanced in years she was moved to see one day the venerable Mahâmoggallâna going about for alms. She went to his house to entice him. Mahâmoggallana rebuked her. She was ashamed and became a believer and lay sister. Sometime after she entered the order and very soon attained arhatship. (*Th. Commy.*, 76–77.)

Mittâkâlikâ came of a Brahman's family in the town of Kammâsadamma in the kingdom of the Kurus. When she grew up she one day heard the teaching of the Great Discourse on the Mahâsatipaṭṭhâna and entered the order of sisters. For seven years she could not elevate herself intellectually. Later on she won arhatship together with analytical knowledge. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 89–90).

Sakulâ (*Pakulâ*) was born in a Brahman family at Sâvatthî. Seeing the Master accepting the gift of the Jetavana, she became a believer. One day she heard the preaching of an *arhat* and was greatly convinced. She entered the order, strove hard for insight and soon won arhatship. She was given the foremost place by the Master among the *bhikkhuṇîs* possessing divine eyes. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 91 f.; cf. *Manorathapûraṇî*, pp. 219-220; cf. *Anguttara N.*, I, 25.)

Sonadiṇṇâ, a female devotee living in Nâlandâ used to serve the *bhikkhus* with the four requisites and used to observe the precept and *uposatha* with perfect regularity. She meditated on the four noble truths and attained *sotâpatti*. (*Vide* my work, *Heaven and Hell*, p. 53).

Alomâ, a poor woman living at Sâvatthî in Benares not finding anything to offer, presented some rotten cooked rice without salt to the Buddha who accepted it. (*Ibid.*, p. 63).

Muttâ came of a rich Brahman family of Sâvatthî. When she was twenty years old, she went to Mahâpajâpati the Gotamî and got ordination from her. She was practising *kammaṭṭhâna* and she was instructed by the Buddha to get herself free from all bonds. Afterwards she became an *arhat*. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 8–9.)

Puṇṇâ was the daughter of a leading burgess of Sâvatthî. When she was about twenty years of age, she heard the great Pajâpati teach the doctrine, and renounced the world. She practised insight, being encouraged by the Master. In due course she attained arhatship. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 9–10.)

Dantikâ came of a *purohita's* family at Kosala. When she came of age, she acquired faith in the Buddha in the Jetavana, and later entered the order under Mahâpajâpati Gotamî at Râjagaha. While staying at Râjagaha, she climbed the Vulture's Peak after her meal, and while resting she developed insight and soon obtained arhatship with analytical knowledge. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 51–52.)

Vaḍḍhesî was the nurse of Mahâpajâpati Gotamî. When her mistress renounced the world, she followed her. For twenty-five years she was harassed by the lusts of the senses and failed to acquire concentration of mind. One day she heard Dhammadinnâ preach the Norm. She then began to practise meditation. Very soon she acquired the six supernatural powers. (*Th. Commy.*, 75–76).

Uttamâ came of a householder family at Bandhumati. When she grew old, she heard Paṭâcârâ preach and entered the order. When Paṭâcârâ gave her admonition, she was established in insight and very soon won arhatship. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 47–48). Thirty sisters born in different families of different places heard Paṭâcârâ preach and were converted by her and entered the order. They practised insight and in course of time they won arhatship with *paṭisaṁbhidâ*. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 118–120.)

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

DAWN OF A NEW INDIA, by KEDARNATH BANERJEE, Calcutta, 1927.

This most interesting little book contains three essays concerning the early days of British rule in India and matters which are already largely forgotten. The author writes of the Sannyasi Rebellion in Bengal, of Jagannath Tarka-panchanan who collaborated with Sir William Jones in his efforts to give Europeans a knowledge of Hindu Law, and of the College of Fort William which did so much to teach the languages of India to young officers in the East India Company's services.

The first great problem before the English governors of Bengal was the preservation of peace, and almost at the very beginning they were confronted with the Sannyasis, who in this instance were very far from being what their name implied—world-renouncers. A great Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, has thrown a romantic halo round the Sannyasis, and represented them as Bengali Brahmans and Kayasthas (the clerical class), and their movement "as the natural reaction against the Bengal Famine of 1769–1770 and the fiscal oppression of the Company's heartless underlings." But Mr. Banerjee's researches into the Bengal *Records* show that they were really fighting Hindu monks from outside and the "very brethren of dacoits and mercenary soldiers and guards"—a race well-known in India. They began their raids into Bengal in 1763 and were not finally disposed of till 1775 by Warren Hastings, their suppression being "a task of peculiar difficulty from the characters of these robbers and their mode of operation." They owed their long immunity from punishment to rapidity of action, lightness of equipment and constant movement, as has many another force in the history of guerilla warfare. It was due to the perseverance of Warren Hastings that they were at last destroyed, after having been a true scourge in Bengal for some twelve years. Several of their leaders acquired great notoriety: Majnûn Shâh Faqîr, Bhawânî Pâthak, Mûsâ Shâh Faqîr, Paragul Shâh and Chirâgh 'Alî Shâh, to say nothing of a woman Devî Chaudhurânî, who conducted her depredations from a boat. The Muhammadan names of some of these leaders of Hindu ascetics will be noted. Occasionally the British officers in charge of operations against them met with disaster; owing chiefly to insufficient forces,—an old failing of their nation. But the hunt after them was continuous and relentless, and in the end Warren Hastings put them down, a task in which he was assisted by many a gallant Englishman whose deeds have long been forgotten. Mr. Banerjee speaks of these efforts thus: "The suppressing of the Sannyasis was an achievement of which the great statesman might well have been proud, though it has been scarcely noticed by the historians," and he has done well to remind us what kind of life it was that the Bengalis had to lead in the first years of British rule and of the courage demanded of their new rulers.

Besides creating the Pax Britannica, Hastings, as soon as he felt that the threat of invasion was removed, set to work to plan laws and institutions for the new system of government. "The aims of our British rulers to make their rule durable and beneficent is clearly seen—for the first time—in the activities of Sir William Jones . . . . These show that the British occupation of India was not meant to be a passing blast." As early as 1775 N. B. Halhed a civil servant of the Company, had produced under Warren Hastings a translation from a Persian translation of the Sanskrit code of Hindu law, but it was for obvious reasons not a satisfactory production, and in 1786 Lord Cornwallis, as Governor-General, commissioned the great scholar Sir William Jones, a judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, to make another translation from the Sanskrit itself.

Sir William Jones started in the right way by appointing an establishment of pandits and maulavis, and was fortunate enough to secure the services of a remarkable Hindu scholar, Pandit Jagannath Tarka-panchanan, even then an old man. Chiefly with his help, Sir William Jones by 1792 produced his great translation of the *Manava Dharmaśâstra* or "the Institutes of Hindu Law as compiled by Manu." And then in 1794 he died too soon, though his old pandit lived on till 1806 in dignified retirement and died at the extraordinary age of 111 years.

Then it was that the British Government consolidated the Pax Britannica by teaching its judiciary the code of laws of the greater part of its subjects, the Hindus.

The next great step taken in the same direction was the establishment of the College of Fort William in 1800 by that unjustly neglected Governor-General Lord Wellesley—whom it is pleasant to note that Mr. Banerjee (p. 93) calls "a great genius and true imperialist." He makes also at this point (p. 92) some remarks worth noting in the present juncture of affairs: "There have been many great emperors in the world, but sooner or later they have all perished. The Roman Empire lasted long because it was the rule, not of a family, but of a whole nation. Such also is the modern British Empire in India: it has been created and maintained by the genius, energy and perseverance of the British race. Therefore the fate of this empire naturally depends upon the intellect and character of the Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen who come out to rule India as civil servants and military officers."

Wellesley noted that, though the British had acquired power in India, their representatives—servants of a Mercantile Company—were unfit to act as a governing body. The result was that "the newly conquered provinces of Bengal and Madras had to pass through the terrible misery of a

period when the English in India enjoyed "power without responsibility." So he founded the College of Fort William, where young officers, civil and military, could learn the languages, law and philosophy of India, and created for the benefit of the pupils a series of professional chairs, of which the first occupants were men whose names have since become household words to students of things Indian.

The Court of Directors in England—as in the case of many of Wellesley's acts—did not appreciate the value of the College, and directed its immediate abolition on financial grounds, but Wellesley was too much for them. They never ceased, however, from trying to break it up and finally in 1854, after having long been partially suppressed, it was merged in the Board of Examiners. Nevertheless, despite its difficulties the College was of incalculable benefit to India through the knowledge of its inhabitants inculcated therein. This Institution did as much perhaps as any other to preserve intact British rule in India.

Mr. Banerjee has been right in bringing once again to the notice of all who are interested in India these three doings of the earlier Englishmen working there—the creation of peace, the preservation of the old law of India, and the teaching of of the many languages of the people.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, 1924. University of Mysore, Bangalore, Government Press, 1925.

The Mysore Government review of Dr. R. Shama Shastri's last Report shows that it covers monuments in thirteen villages including the twin temples at Mosaḷe, raised by the Hoysalas and dedicated respectively to Vishṇu and Śiva, showing the eclecticism of that dynasty. In this connection it is interesting to remark that the Government directs that "steps should be taken to undertake the repairs at an early date of the Bûchêśwara temple at Kôravangula, as important as the temples of Sômanâthpur and Halebîḍ." Other remarks and orders also show that the Government is very much alive to the importance of preserving architectural remains in the State.

The Report deals also with MSS. which are of historical value, revealing a dynasty of Karṇapurarâshṭra, of another with the title of Kothaṇḍaparasurâma Mânônnata and yet another of the Prâgśâlâs, and also a Jain university of Tapagachchha at Latapalli in Gujarât, which conferred degrees on both men and women. Finally the Departmentcollected no less than 144 new epigraphical records, showing that it worked well during the year 1924.

There are excellent plates of the more important buildings, including elevations and plans of the most interesting twin temples at Mosaḷe, of which an excellent account is given. On the Beṭṭadapura Hill is a cave containing an ornamental platform on which are two *lingas*, one smaller than the other. The numerous carvings connected with these *lingas* are unique in their grouping and are well worth further investigation. A dignified illustration of a plain but well proportioned temple to Śambhunâthêśvara at Śambhunâthpur gives one a feeling of rest after a surfeit of the highly ornate representations of Dravidian architecture.

Of the MSS. described, the *Nâgakumâracharita* is of value, as throwing light in the history of the Nâgas, as to which all light, however dim, is valuable. The *Gadyakaraṇâmṛita* gives an account of a Hoysala battle with the combined forces of the Pâṇḍyas, Magadhas and Kâḍavas (Pallavas) ending in the defeat of the Pâṇḍyas. Rudrasiṁha's *Vijñânatarangiṇi* is a fifteenth MS. of the story of a mythical king Śankardâsa. Miśradhîrêśvara's *Dvijarâjôdaya* is a treatise on auspicious days, but gives a genealogy of the Mânônnata kings. Sômacharitragaṇi's *Guruguṇaratnâkara*, which was printed at Benares in 1910 throws "a flood of light" on the History of Gujarât in the latter half of the fifteenth century, showing a friendly feeling to have existed between the early Muhammadan conquerors and the conquered Hindus. And lastly Chandapâla's commentary on Trivikramabhaṭṭa's *Naḷachampu* gives the earliest known reference to the Prâgśâḷâ dynasty. Altogether we have in this section of the Report a record of most useful work to the searcher into Indian history. In describing the *Naḷachampu* Dr. Shama Shastri has a most interesting note on the term *Karnâṭa*, which he says "seems to have meant *Kar-nâḍu* a country of black soil, and the word *Karnâṭa* must necessarily have been a corrupt form of it." In this form it occurs in the *Naḷachampu*, "a work which cannot be later than the tenth century."

In epigraphy the Report is an important one, as no less than 144 were inscriptions are recorded giving all kinds of information. By way of introduction here Dr. Shama Sastri gives a most valuable summary of the various reasons put forward [by Dr. Fleet] for and against the acceptance of the Ganga Plates as genuine. In describing the Ghaṭṭadahaḷḷi grant of the Vijayanagar King Harihara, *Śâka* 1308, (No. 25 of the list), which has 98 lines, Dr. Shama Sastri remarks that "the grant seems to be spurious." Similar illuminating notes are attached to inscription after inscription, showing the care exercised in dealing with them.

Of the more important inscriptions, plates are given. *E.g.*, No. 78, the Kodunjeruvu grant of the Ganga King, Avinîta: No. 79, the Nallâla grant of the Ganga King, Durvinîta; No. 80, the long Alûr plates of the Ganga Yuvarâja Mârasingha; No. 81, the Chûkuṭṭûr grant of the Ganga King Siṁhavarma. Here we have a record of conscientious work well done.

The Report winds up with a short story of the foundation of the Archæological Museum of Mysore on "the proposal made from this office." Dr. Shama Sastri is to be congratulated on the success of his efforts during the year covered by the valuable Report.

R. C. TEMPLE.

VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

(*Continued from vol.* LVI, *p.* 233.)

6. Yaksha.

Yaksha (neuter) is a somewhat difficult word that occurs about thirty times in the Vedic texts and that has not so far been satisfactorily explained by the exegetists. The explanations proposed for this word by the earlier ones are collected by Geldner on pp. 126, 127 of the *Vedische Studien*, Vol. 3, in the beginning of the article which he has written on this word. Geldner has there, after giving expression to the opinion that none of these explanations is satisfactory, come to the conclusion (p. 143) that *yaksha* means 1. (*a*) Erstaunen, Verwunderung, Neugierde ; (*b*) Wunder, Rätsel ; 2. Wunder, Kunststück, Zauber, (*a*) Hexerei, Zauberei ; (*b*) Verzauberung ; Verwandlung; (*c*) Gaukelei, Blendwerk, Illusion ; (*d*) Wunderkraft, Wunderkur, Heilzauber ; 3. Gegenstand der Bewunderung oder Neugierde, Kuriosität, (*a*) Wundertier ; (*b*) Schaustück, Fest ; (*c*) Naturwunder wie grosse Bäume u.s.w. M. Boyer who has likewise written an article on this word in the *Journal Asiatique* (1906, I, pp. 393–477), sees no necessity for the acceptance of this long array of meanings. Following the explanation of Roth (übernatürliches Wesen, geisterhafte Erscheinung) and Bergaigne (apparition surnaturelle), he thinks that *yaksha* denotes only 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder,' *une forme (visible de fait ou conçue comme telle) propre à étonner le regard*, and has, in his above-mentioned article, attempted to show that the meaning *fantôme, apparition, apparition merveilleuse, merveille*, fits in best with the context and is sufficient to explain every passage in which the word occurs. Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 44) agrees with M. Boyer in thinking that there is no necessity for a long series of meanings, and that one meaning is enough to explain all the passages in which the word occurs. This one meaning, however, is according to Oldenberg, 'wunderbare geheimnisvolle (darum häufig unheimliche) Wesenheit' and not 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder' as proposed by M. Boyer. And this seems now to be the opinion of Geldner also who in his latest book (*Ṛgveda-Übersetzung*, Part I, 1923) remarks, in connection with the verse 4. 3. 13, '*yaksham ;* Heimlichkeit oder Blendwerk. *yaksha* ist etwas Geheimnisvolles oder Wunderbares', and thus seems to have abandoned his former suggestion in favour of that of Oldenberg.

The attempt to dispense with a long array of meanings and to make one meaning suffice for all passages is without doubt laudable ; but it seems to me that in saying that this meaning is 'a wonderful, mysterious (and therefore sinister) being' or 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder', the savants above named have not quite hit the mark, and that these meanings do not, any more than those proposed by Geldner, fit in a number of passages, *e.g.*, in RV., 10, 88, 13 ; AV., 8, 9, 8 and 11, 2, 24 ; Sat. Br. 12, 2, 3. 5. I propose therefore to investigate anew here the meaning of this word *yaksha*.

It is necessary for me to begin first by referring to the close correspondence that exists between the words *yaksha* and *bhûta* in post-vedic literature. In this literature, *yaksha* like *bhûta*, denotes a class of superhuman beings known as *devayonayaḥ* in Sanskrit literature (*cf.* Amarakośa, 1, 11 : *vidyâdharo 'psaro-yaksha-raksho-gandharva-kinnarâḥ | piśâco guhyakaḥ siddho bhûto 'mî devayonayaḥ*), and as *vyantarâḥ* in Jaina literature (*cf.* Uttarâdhyayana, p. 1084 : *pisâya bhûyâ jakkhâ ya rakkhasâ kinnarâ ya kimpurisâ | mahoragâ ya gandhavvâ aṭṭhavihâ vâṇamantarâ* and *Tattvârthâdhigama-sûtra*, 4, 12). These beings are represented as dwelling in unoccupied houses, in trees, forests or woods, ponds, etc., which are then said to be possessed, *adhishṭhita*, by them ; compare Geldner, *l.c.*, p. 143, Jâtaka Stories, Nos. 154 and 155, and

Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 36, and Index, s.v. *yaksha.* To *Yakshas* as to *Bhûtas*[25] temples were built, adoration paid and *bali* offered ; and festivals, *yâtrâḥ or utsavâḥ*, were instituted in their honour. They were invoked in times of danger, and vows were taken in honour of them at such times and also when people prayed for the fulfilment of any desire. Compare for instance the following passages from the Jñâtâdharmakathâ :—

(p. 417) *Râyagihassa ṇayarassa bahiyâ ṇâgâṇi ya bhûyâṇi ya jakkhâṇi ya indâṇi ya khandâṇi ya ruddâṇi ya sivâṇi ya vesâṇi ya vesamaṇâṇi ya tattha ṇaṃ bahuṇaṃ ṇâgapaḍimâṇi ya jâva vesamaṇapaḍimâṇi ya mahariham pupphaccaṇiyaṃ karettâ jâṇu-pâya-vaḍiyâ evaṃ vayittâ jai ṇaṃ ahaṃ devâṇuppiyâ dârajaṃ vâ dârigaṃ vâ payâyâmi teṇaṃ ahaṃ tumhaṃ jâyaṃ ca dâyaṃ ca bhâyaṃ ca akkhaya-ṇihiṃ ca aṇuvaṭṭemi.*

[Bhadrâ, wife of the caravan-leader, *sârthavâha*, Dhanya, thinks] " Outside the city of Râjagṛha are the temples of Nâgas, Bhûtas, Yakshas, Indra, Skanda, Rudra, Śiva, Veśa, and Vaiśravaṇa. There after a grand worship with flowers of the images of Nâgas, etc., up to Vaisravaṇa, and after falling on the knees, saying thus : 'If, now, O beloved of the gods, I shall give birth to a son or a daughter, I shall then establish a worship of you, make gifts to you, appoint portions for you, and shall establish a permanent fund [26] for you .' "

(p. 409) *jûya-khalayâṇi ya vesâyârâṇi ya . . . . singhâḍagâṇi ya tayâṇi ya caukkâṇi ya caccarâṇi ya ṇâga-gharâṇi ya bhûya-gharâṇi ya jakkha-deulâṇi ya . . . .*

[The robber Vijaya was in the habit of visiting and wandering through] " Gambling-dens, drink-saloons, courtesans' houses, places where three, four, and more roads meet, temples of Nâgas, Bhûtas, and Yakshas . . . . "

(p. 758) *bhîyâ sanjâyabhayâ aṇṇam-aṇṇa-kâyaṃ samaturaṅgemâṇâ bahuṇaṃ indâṇi ya khandâṇi ya rudda-siva-vesamaṇa-ṇâgâṇam bhûyâṇa ya jakkhâṇa ya ajja-koṭṭakiriyâṇa ya bahûṇi uvâiya-saâi uvâimamâṇâ ciṭṭhanti* [Some merchants, when threatened by an evil spirit, *mahâpiśâca*, while travelling on a ship in the midst of the sea, become anxious, and] " Feeling fear and apprehension, and embracing each other (for support) are offering many offerings to many Indras, Skandas, Rudras, Śivas, Vaiśravaṇas, Nâgas, Bhûtas, Yakshas, Âryâs and Koṭṭakriyâs." [27]

(p. 212, 213) *uggâ uggaputtâ bhogâ bhogaputtâ evaṃ râiṇṇâ khattiyâ mâhaṇâ bhaḍâ johâ . . . . ṇhâyâ . . . . sirasâ kaṇṭhe mâlakaḍâ âviddha-maṇi-suvaṇṇâ kappiya-hâra ddhahâra-tisaraya-palamba-palambamâṇa-kaḍisuttayâ sukaya-sobhâbharaṇâ vattha-pavara-pahiriyâ candanovalitta-gâya-sarîrâ appegaiyâ hayagayâ evaṃ gaya-raha-sibiya-sandamâṇi-gayâ. . . . Râyagiha-ṇagarassa majjhaṃ egadisiṃ egâhimukhâ ṇigacchanti*[28]. . . . . *kiṇṇaṃ bho devâṇuppiyâ ajja Râjagihe ṇayare indamahe vâ khandamahe vâ evaṃ rudda-siva-vesamaṇa-ṇâga-jakkha-bhûya-ṇadî-taḷâya-rukkha-ceiya-pavvaya-ujjâṇa-girijattâi vâ jauṇaṃ uggâ bhogâ jâva egadisiṃ egâbhimuhâ ṇigacchanti.*

[25] The investigations of anthropologists have shown that belief in the existence, and worship, of evil spirits (demons) plays a prominent role in the religious beliefs and practices of primitive people everywhere in the world; and the opinion has been expressed by writers on Vedic religion and mythology that such belief and worship were prevalent among the Âryans of Ṛgvedic times. Thus Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, p. 55f.) believes that the existence of such belief and practice is unmistakably indicated by certain details of the Vedic cult ; and Hillebrandt (*Ved. Myth.*, III, p. X) says that the belief in the existence of evil spirits is met with to a small extent in the RV. and that the worship too of evil spirits must have been prevalent at the time though, as he thinks, no trace of such worship is to be seen in the RV. As we know from later literature that the worship of Yakshas and Bhûtas was general and wide-spread, it is permissible to infer that the worship of evil spirits in Ṛgvedic times too must have, to a great extent, consisted in the worship of Yakshas and Bhûtas, or at least, that Yakshas and Bhûtas were included in the evil spirits that received worship in the time of the RV.

[26] Wherewith, explains the commentator Abhayacandra, the charges for renovating the temple, etc., may be met.

[27] The commentator explains *âryâḥ* as *praśânta-rûpâ durgâḥ* and *koṭṭakriyâḥ* as *saiva mahishârûḍha-rûpâ*, that is, perhaps, fierce in aspect.

[28] This *varṇaka* is not given in the edition ; the commentator has, however, extracted it from one of the preceding five Aṅgasûtras and reproduced it in his commentary (p. 208f. of the edition).

[Prince Megha sees one day] "Ugras, ugraputras, bhogas, bhogaputras, and likewise, persons born in royal families, Kshatriyas, Brâhmaṇas, king's servants, warriors, ... who had bathed, ... who were wearing garlands on their heads and necks and ornaments of gold and jewels, who were decked with *hâras, ardhahâras, trisarakas, pralambas* [29] and *kaṭisûtras,* and other well-made brilliant ornaments, who were wearing very fine clothes and had their bodies anointed with sandal, some mounted on horses, some on elephants, chariots and palanquins, moving in Râjagṛha in one direction, to one goal", and calling one of his entourage, inquires "What, O beloved of the gods? Is there to-day in Râjagṛha a festival (*utsava*) in honour of Indra or Skanda or Śiva, Rudra, Vaiśravaṇa, or a *nâga, yaksha* or *bhûta*, or a *yâtrâ* to a river or pond or tree, temple, mountain, garden or hill, that the *ugras, bhogas,* etc., are going out in one direction, to one goal?"

The temples of Yakshas were known as *yakshâyatana* (cp. Jñâtâ., p. 528, *surappiye ṇâmaṃ jakkhâyataṇe*), *yakshadevakula* (cp. *ibid.*, p. 409, *jakkhadeulâṇi ya*), *yakshagṛha* or *yakshabhavana* (cp. Uttarâdhyayanasûtra, comm. on p. 162, *Râjagṛhe Vîraprabhodyâne Maṇinâyakasya yakshabhavane uttîrṇaḥ*), *yakshaprâsâda* (cp. *ibid.*, p. 347; *Maṇḍika-yaksha-prâsâda*) or *yaksha* simply; (compare Jñâtâ., p. 417, *ṇâgâṇi ya bhûyâṇi ya jakkhâṇi ya,* 'temples of *nâgas, bhûtas,* and *yakshas*'; Vipâkasûtra, p. 176, *Bhaṇḍîre uyyâne Sudarisaṇe jakkhe* 'Bhaṇḍîra park; the *yaksha*-temple named Sudarisaṇa; *ibid.*, p. 213, *Soriya-jakkho* 'the *yaksha*-temple known as Soriya'); and those of *bhûtas* were known as *bhûtagṛha* (cp. Jñâtâ., p. 409, *bhûyagharâṇi ya*) or simply *bhûta* (cp. Jñâtâ., p. 417, *ṇâgâṇi ya bhûyâṇi ya jakkhâṇi ya* cited above). The generic term *caitya* was used to denote either class of temples—those of *yakshas* or of *bhûtas*: compare Uttarâdhyayanasûtra, p. 162, *Antarañjikâpuryâṃ bhûtagṛhaṃ caityam*; *yakkha-cetiyâni* in Buddhaghosha's *Sumaṅgalavilâsinî* on *Mahâparinibbâna-sutta*, I. 4: and Abhayacandra's explanation of *caitya* as *vyantarâyatanam* in his commentary on the Jñâtâ., p. 7. These *caityas* seem to have played a prominent part in the religious life of the city or town in which they were situated. In the Jaina-sûtras specially, one finds that whenever the name of a town or city is mentioned, the name of the *caitya* situated in it is also almost invariably mentioned; see, for instance, Jñâtâ., p. 1509, 1515ff. and Vipâkasûtra, pp. 241ff.[30] The Buddhist Pâli books too sometimes mention *caityas* in connection with towns; *e.g.*, the Supatiṭṭha-cetiya in Râjagṛha is mentioned in the Vinaya-piṭaka, Mahâvagga, I, 22, 1; and the Câpâla, Udena, Sattambaka, and Bahuputta *cetiyas* in Vesâli are mentioned in Dîgha., Mahâparinibbânasutta, 3, 1. So also do some Buddhist votive inscriptions[31] at Bharaut, Nâsik and other places. They are occasionally mentioned in the Purâṇas,

[29] These are different kinds of necklaces worn round the neck. A *trisaraka* is a necklace that has three strings.

[30] The worship of *yakshas* and *yakshiṇis* still forms part of Jain religious observances. Read in this connection the introduction to the second edition of the "Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa Inscriptions" (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II) with its frequent allusions to *yakshas*; see also Plate 17 therein.

[31] Nos. 693, 699, 987, 988, 1058, 1059, etc., in Lüders' *List of Brâhmî Inscriptions* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X); see Index of Miscellaneous Terms given at the end, s. v. *chetiyaghara* and following words. The words *chetiyaghara* and *chaitya* are there explained by Lüders as 'Buddhist building'. Considering however that among the Buddhist inscriptions are two—Nos. 1143 and 871—that record the gift of a *yaksha* and a *yakshî* (that is, of images of them) and one (No. 1206) that seems to record the gift of a *bhûtâyana* (for *bhûtapaṭa*? stone-slab with the image of a *bhûta* engraved on it), it seems more natural to give the word *chaitya* its usual meaning and to understand in these inscriptions a reference to temples of *bhûtas* or *yakshas*. It is true that such temples have nothing to do with Buddhism or with the life of Buddhists as we know of these from the books; but the gift of images of a *yaksha* and a *yakshî* referred to above shows clearly that their worship must have been prevalent amongst Buddhists also at that time and this makes it probable that the word *chaitya* retains its meaning of 'temple dedicated to *yaksha* or *bhûta*' in Buddhist inscriptions (and in Buddhist books?) also. It may, in passing, be observed that the personal names also, contained in some of the inscriptions, as for instance, the names Nâga, Nâgadatta, Nâgadina, Nâgadeva, Nâgaśrî, Nâgapâlita; Yakhadina, Yakhadâsi, Yakhî, Yakhila; Bhuta, Bhutarakhita and Bhutapâla (see Index of Personal Names given at the end) bear witness to the prevalence of the worship of *nâgas, yakshas,* and *bhûtas* at that time.

Itihâsas and other Brâhmanical books also; compare, for instance, the Râmâyaṇa, 2, 56, 33 : *caityâny âyatanâni ca . . . . sthâpayamâsa Râghavaḥ* : 2, 71, 42 : *devâyatana-caityeshu dînâḥ pakshi-mṛgâs tathâ* : 2, 3, 18 : *devâyatana-caityeshu* : 2, 17, 16 : *caityaṁś câyatanâni ca | pradakshiṇaṃ pariharan* ; in Agnipurâṇa (*apud* Hemâdri's *Caturvargacintâmaṇi*, Vratakhaṇḍa, ch. 21, p. 344) *caityeshu âyataneshu ca | devânâṃ caiva rathyâsu* : in Bhavishyottarapurâṇa (*apud* Hemâdri *l. c.*, p. 353) *kûṭâgâreshu caityeshu* : in the Mahâbhârata, 2, 102, 33 : *devâyatana-caityeshu prâkârâṭṭâlakeshu ca*; Kauṭilya's Arthaśâstra, p. 208, *parvasu ca . . . . caitya-pûjâḥ kârayet* ; p. 243, *pratipannaṃ caityasthâne râtrau . . . . upahâraṃ kârayet* ; p. 56, *caitya-puṇya-sthâna-vana-setubandhâḥ kâryâḥ*. In all these instances, the juxtaposition of the word *devâyatana* shows that the word *caitya* means 'temple of *yaksha* or *bhûta*' as the compound *devâyatana-caitya* means 'temples dedicated to gods and to evil spirits.' The presiding deity of the Daṇḍapâṇi temple in Benares, that pious devotees visit every day, is also a *yaksha*, as is related in ch. 32 of the *Kâśîkhaṇḍa*.

The worship of *yakshas* and *bhûtas* is referred to in the Bhagavad-gîtâ, where it is said in XVII, 4,[32] that *sâtvika* people worship gods (*deva*), *râjasa* people *yakshas* and *râkshasas*, and *tâmasa* people, ghosts (*preta*) and hosts of *bhûtas*, and in IX. 25,[33] that the worshippers of *bhûtas* go to them while the worshippers of the Lord go to Him. *Yakshas* and *bhûtas* are both objects of *tarpaṇa* (with water) in the daily *brahma-yajña* ceremony prescribed for the householder of the first three castes (cp. *Âś. GS.* 3, 4, 1). Similarly, the *bhûtayajña*, which consists in the offering of *bali* to *bhûtas*, (compare TA. 2, 10 : *yad bhûtebhyo baliṃ harati tad bhûtayajñaḥ*) is also daily prescribed for such householders (cp. *ibid.*, 3, 1). The *yaksha-bali* rite[34] is referred to by Ujvaladatta in his scholium on the Uṇâdisûtras, 4, 123, in the Jâtaka Stories Nos. 347 and 455, while its wide prevalence is attested by the common saying *yakshânurûpo baliḥ* : 'As is the *yaksha*, so is the *bali*.' (that is, the *bali* corresponds to the *yaksha* ; if the *yaksha* is great, the *bali* offered will be considerable : if the *yaksha* is negligible, the *bali* too is negligible) cited by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Chân. Up. 6. 32; (see also Laukikanyâyâñjali II. p. 64 : *yâdṛśo yakshas tâdṛśo baliḥ*). TA. 1, 31, 123 gives details of the Vaiśravaṇa-yajña ceremony in which *bali* is offered to Vaiśravaṇa (*i.e.* Kubera) who is the lord of Yakshas, but who is, remarkably enough, referred to by the *mantra sarvabhûtâdhipataye nama iti*; (the commentator Bhaṭṭa-bhâskara explains *sarvabhûtânâm* alternatively as *yaksha-guhyakânâm*) as the 'lord of all *bhûtas*.'

The fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of every month is known as *bhûta-caturdaśî* and is held sacred to the *bhûtas*. On that day are performed *vratas* intended to win the favour of Śiva, lord of the *bhûtas* : see Hemâdri, *l.c.* p. 50 ff. This day however is held consecrated to the Yakshas also, and accordingly, on this day are performed the *vratas* in which worship is offered to Yakshas (namely, the Kshemavrata, p. 154), and to Vaiśravaṇa, lord of the Yakshas (p. 155). The Saurapurâṇa (*apud* Hemâdri, *l.c.* p. 156) prescribes the performance on this day of the Kṛshṇa-caturdaśî-vrata, in which the figure of a Yaksha made of bdellium (*guggula*) should be burnt, and says that in consequence of this *vrata*, the performer goes to the world of the Pinâka-bearer, that is, of Śiva, the lord of *bhûtas* (*kṛshṇapakshe caturdaśyâṃ yakshaṃ guggulakaṃ dahet | sa yâti paramaṃ sthânaṃ yatra devaḥ pinâkadhṛk*).

It may further be mentioned that according to the Purâṇic mythology, Îśâna (or Rudra) the lord of *bhûtas*, and Kubera (or Vaiśravaṇa) the lord of Yakshas both dwell in the north in the Himâlayas and are neighbours, and that the Jaina writers so closely associated *yakshas*

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[32] *yajante sâttvikâ devân yaksharakshaṁsi râjasâḥ |*
pretân bhûtagaṇâṁś cânye yajante tâmasâ janâḥ ||

[33] *bhûtâni yânti bhûtejyâ yânti madyâjino'pi mâm |*

[34] It may be observed, that analogous to the *bhûtabali* and *yakshabali* rites, the Gṛhyasûtras know of a *sarpabali* rite also where *bali* is offered to *sarpas* or snakes (*nâgas*), compare *Âśv. GS.* 2, 1, Nṛsiṁha's *Prayogapârijâta* (Nirṇayasâgara ed.), pp. 434 ff.

with *bhûtas* that in a story related in the Jñâtâdharmakathâ (Adhyayana 16, p. 1149) the wives of three Brâhmaṇa brothers are respectively named Nâgasiri, Bhûyasiri and Jakkhasiri.[35]

The details given above show how close is the correspondence between the words *yaksha* and *bhûta* in post-vedic literature. This correspondence is no less close in the Vedic literature also, as can be seen from the comparison of some passages of the Bṛhad. Upanishad. In this Upanishad, the word *mahat* is found used as a qualifying epithet in five passages only ; in one it is an epithet of *karma* (1, 4, 15 : *mahat puṇyaṃ karma karoti*) while in the other four, it is an epithet of Brahman described as *mahad bhûtam* in two passages (2, 4, 10 : *asya mahato bhûtasya niśvasitam etad yad Ṛgvedo Yajurvedaḥ* . . . . ; 2, 4, 12 : *idaṃ mahad bhûtam anantam apâraṃ vijñânaghana eva*) and as *mahad yaksham* in two other sentences occurring in 5, 4, 1 (*sa yo haitan mahad yakshaṃ prathamajaṃ veda satyaṃ brahmeti* ; *evam etan mahad yakshaṃ prathamajaṃ veda satyaṃ brahmeti*). In the same way, to the epithet *yakshasya adhyaksham* used of Agni Vâiśvânara in RV. 10. 88, 13 corresponds the epithet *bhûtasya adhyakshâḥ* used in AV. 1. 31. 1 of the four *âśâpâlâḥ* 'lords of the quarters' (of whom Agni is one) ; compare also *bhûtasya* . . . . *patir eka âsît* in RV. 10, 121, 1. Similarly, Śat. Br. 11, 2, 3, 5 : *mahad dhaiva yakshaṃ bhavati* corresponds to Âśv. GS. 3, 9, 6 : (*snâtako vai*) *mahad bhûtaṃ bhavati* : and the words *yaksha* and *bhûta* are used parallelly in TB. 3, 11, 1, 1 : *tvayîdam antaḥ | viśvaṃ yakshaṃ viśvaṃ bhûtaṃ viśvaṃ subhûtaṃ*.

It follows then from all this, and especially from the correspondence of *mahad yaksham* with *mahad bhûtam* in the Upanishad passages noted above, that the two words are convertible and that *yaksha*=*bhûta*. And it is remarkable that Bhâskararâya, the famous and most learned Tantrik writer of the Sâkta school, has explained *yaksham* in AV. 10, 2, 32, as *mahâbhûtam*. It seems to have been felt by Roth too that *yaksha* is equivalent to *bhûta* : for in the PW. (s.v. *yaksha*) he has correctly explained *yaksha* in AV. 8, 9, 8 ; RV. 10, 88, 13 and TB. 3, 11, 1, 1 as 'die Wesen' and the word *yakshabhṛt* in RV. 1, 190, 4, as 'die Wesen tragend, erhaltend'. The commentator Bhaṭṭabhâskara, too, has, on the other hand, as we have seen above, explained the word *bhûta* in TA. 1. 31, 123 as *yaksha-guhyaka*.

Now the chief meanings of *bhûta* are—(*a*) being (concrete) ; such beings in the collective —all beings, the creation world, universe ; a particular class of superhuman beings ; evil being, evil spirit ; and (*b*) being (abstract), essence, substance, virtue, might, power, etc. The meanings 'essence, substance, might, power,' etc., are not given by the lexicographers ; but nevertheless, there can be no doubt that *bhûta* has these meanings quite regularly, for it is derived from the root *bhû*, which means not only 'to be' but also 'to be powerful, to prevail, to predominate, to be master of'; compare the meanings of the cognate words *bhâva* and *prabhâva* and of the allied word *sattva*, which is derived likewise from a root (*as*) meaning 'to be' and which is a synonym of *bhûta*. And these meanings of *bhûta* are enough, as I shall show now, to explain the sense of the majority of the passages in which the word *yaksha* (which, as I have shown above, is its synonym) occurs.

Bṛhad. Up. 5, 4 : *tad vai tad etad eva tad âsa satyam eva sa yo haitan mahad yakshaṃ prathamajaṃ veda satyaṃ brahmeti jayatîmâñl lokân jita in nv asâv asad ya evam etan mahad yakshaṃ prathamajaṃ veda satyaṃ brahmeti satyaṃ hy eva brahma* ||

"That (namely, Brahman), verily, was this (universe) ; that verily was the Real. He who knows this great first-born being, Brahman, as the Real, conquers these worlds. How could he be conquered who knows that this great first-born being, Brahman, is verily the Real ? For Brahman is verily the Real." The epithet 'first-born,' *prathamaja*, seems here to be used in the sense of 'first existing'; compare Bṛhad. Up. 1, 4, 10 : *brahma vâ idam agra âsît*. Compare also TA. 10, 1, 4 : *prajâ'patiḥ prathamajâ' ṛtásyâtmâ'nâtmâ'nam abhi saṃ' babhûva*.

[35] Compare also *Sûtrakṛtâṅgasûtra*, p. 674 : *ṇâgaheuṃ vâ bhûyaheuṃ vâ jakkhaheuṃ vâ* 'for the purpose of (worshipping) *nâgas*, *bhûtas* or *yakshas*.'

Kenopanishat, 3, 2 : *tad dhaishâṃ vijajñau tebhyo ha prâdurbabhûva tan na vyajânanta kim idaṃ yaksham iti* ||

" It (Brahman) became aware of (this thought of) theirs ; it manifested itself before them. They did not know (what it was, and thought within themselves) 'What is this being ?' " Similarly, *yaksha*=being in the other passages of this *khaṇḍa* where this word recurs.

Gopatha-brâhmaṇa, 1, 1, 1 : *brahma vâ idam agra âsît svayambhv ekam eva tad aikshata mahad vai yakshaṃ tad ekam evâsmi hantâhaṃ mad eva manmâtraṃ dvitîyaṃ devaṃ nirmimâ iti....tasya....lalâṭe sneho yad ârdryam ajâyata tenânandat tam abravîd mahad vai yakshaṃ suvedam avidâmahîti* ||[36]

" At first, verily, the self-born Brahman existed alone. It considered 'Verily, I alone exist, the great being, That (that is, Brahman) ; well, I shall create from myself a second god like to me '. . . . At the moisture, wetness, that was produced on its forehead, it felt glad; It[37] said: 'We have verily easily got the great being '." *Mahad yaksham*, the great being referred to here, is water, *âpaḥ*, which at first appears as *sneha ârdryam* on the forehead and then (see *khaṇḍa* 2) as *svedadhârâḥ*, ' streams of perspiration ' in the pores of its skin, and is in *khaṇḍa* 3, expressly called by that name (*tâ âpaḥ sṛshṭvâ anvaikshata*). Regarding the creation of Water first by the Brahman, compare Manu, 1, 8 : *apa eva sasarjâdau tâsu vîryam avâsṛjat* ; Śâkuntala, 1, 1 : which refers to Water as *yâ sṛshṭiḥ srashṭur âdyâ* : Ait. Up. 1, 1f. ; *sa îkshata lokân nu sṛjâ iti sa imân lokân asṛjatâmbho marîcir maram âpaḥ*; Sat. Br. 6, 1, 3, 1 : *prajâpatir vâ idam agra âsîd eka eva* | *so'kâmayata bahu syâm prajâyeyeti so' śrâmyat sa tapo'tapyata tasmâc chrântât tepânât âpo'sṛjyanta* ; compare also Kaṭhopanishat, 2, 1, 6 : *yaḥ pûrvaṃ tapaso jâtam adbhyaḥ pûrvam ajâyata* which also says impliedly that *tapas* and *âpaḥ* were first-born beings.

TB. 3, 12, 3, 1 : *prathamajáṃ deváṃ havíshâ vidhema*
svayambhú bráhma paramáṃ tápo yát |
sá evá putráḥ sá pitâ' sá mâtâ'
tápo ha yaksháṃ prathamáṃ sáṃ babhûva ||

" Let us worship with oblation the first-born god, namely, Tapas, the self-born Brahman, the highest. He alone is the son, he the father, he the mother. Tapas was born the first being." Compare Kaṭhopanishat, 2, 1, 6 cited above. It is said frequently in the Upanishads and elsewhere that Brahman, after the desire arose in it to create, performed *tapas* ; and this has led to *tapas* being regarded as the first thing created by Brahman. Compare Sâyaṇa's commentary on this verse : *yoyam tapobhimânî devaḥ sa prathamajaḥ* | *tathâ copanishadi sṛshṭi-prakaraṇe prathamajatvam âmnâyate* | *sokâmayata bahu syâṃ prajâyayeti sa tapotapyata* ; compare also AV. 11, 8, 6 : *tápo ha jajñe kármaṇas tát té jyeshṭhám úpâsata* ' Tapas was born from action ; that did they worship as the eldest.'

TB. 3, 11, 1, 1: *tváyîdám antáḥ* | *viśvaṃ yaksháṃ víśvaṃ bhûtáṃ víśvaṃ subhûtám.*

" Within thee is all being, all creation, all prosperity." This is a formula that is used twenty-four times (with variations in the number of the second personal pronoun when required by the context) in respect of the twenty-four bricks, *ishṭakâḥ*, used in the *Nâciketa-cayana*. These bricks are identified with the earth, waters, sky, etc., and each of these is panegyrised as the container of the whole universe. The expressions *viśvaṃ yaksham* and *viśvaṃ bhûtam* mean almost the same thing ; compare also TA. 10, 16, 1 : *viśvaṃ bhûtaṃ bhuvanaṃ citram*, which corresponds exactly to *viśvaṃ yakshaṃ viśvaṃ bhûtaṃ viśvam śubhûtam* here.

AV. 8, 9, 8 : *yâ'ṃ prácyutâm ánu yajñâ'ḥ pracyávanta*
upatishṭhanta upatíshṭhamânâm |
yásyâ vraté prasavé yaksháṃ éjati
sâ' virâ'ḍ ṛshayaḥ paramé vyòman ||

" After whom, when she is going, the sacrifices go and with whose approach they approach ; following whose ordinance and through whose impulse, the world moves,—she, O sages,

[36] So corrected by Whitney in his Grammar, § 848, instead of the *avidamâha iti* of the editions.

[37] I read *tad abravît* instead of *tam abravît* as printed in the edition.

is the Virâj in the highest heaven." This verse is the answer given by Kaśyapa to the inquiry made in the preceding verse by the six sages about the nature of Virâj who is said to be the father of Brahman. In contrast with *pracyutâm* and *pracyavanta* in the first *pâda*, one expects *pratishṭhamânâm* and *pratishṭhanta* in the second *pâda* ('after whom, when she is going, the sacrifices go and when she is firmly established, are firmly established') instead of *upatishṭhamânâm* and *upatishṭhanta* that are found there. It is not therefore improbable that these latter words are here used in the sense of *pratishṭhamânâm* and *pratishṭhanta*. Compare Praśnopanishat, 2, 4 : *tasminn utkrâmaty athetare sarva evotkrâmante tasmiṁś ca pratishṭhamâne sarva eva pratishṭhante tad yathâ makshikâ madhukara-râjânam utkrâmantaṃ sarva evotkrâmante tasmiṁś ca pratishṭhamâne sarva eva prâtishṭhante* 'when it (*sc.* the *prâṇa*) departs, all the others depart, and when it stays fast, all others stay fast; just as, when the king-bee departs all the bees depart and when he stays fast, all stay fast.'

It will be seen that the second half-verse speaks of the whole universe being controlled by, and obeying the impulse of, the Virâj while the first half-verse speaks, seemingly, of the sacrifices only, *yajñâḥ*, going when the Virâj goes and coming (or staying) when the Virâj comes (or stays). This is, to say the least, incongruous, and the more so as the sacrifices are not such important things as to deserve mention in this connection. One would rather expect in the first half-verse also mention to be made of the whole universe going and coming (or staying) according as the Virâj goes and comes (or stays); compare the word *sarve* in the Upanishad passage *sarva evotkrâmante* . . . . *sarva eva pratishṭhante* cited above. I am therefore led to believe that the word *yajñâḥ* here in the first half-verse denotes 'universe', that is, that it has the same meaning as the word *yaksha* in the second half-verse. In other words, the view of the Indian commentators that sees in *yaksha* a derivative from the root *yaj* seems to be justified by the parallelism here of the two words *yajña* and *yaksha*.

AV. 8, 9, 25–26 : *kó nú gaúḥ ká ekaṛshiḥ kím u dhâ'ma kâ' âśishaḥ* |
yakshám pṛthivyâ'm ekavṛ'd ekartúḥ katamó nú sáḥ || 25 ||
éko gaúr éka ekaṛshir ékaṃ dhâ'maikadhâ'śishaḥ |
yakshám pṛthivyâ'm ekavṛ'd ekartúr nâ'ti ricyate || 26 ||

"Who then is the bull, who the sole seer, what the abode and what the desires? The being that on earth is one-seasoned, one-fold,—who is he? The bull is one, one the sole seer and one-grouped are the desires. The being that on earth is one-seasoned, one-fold, he is not different." M. Boyer, following M. Henry, has understood these verses as referring to the sun (*âditya*), that is, to the sun considered as the Supreme Being. This is not incorrect; but I believe that it is preferable to refer the verses, with Geldner (*l.c.* p. 129) to Brahman itself, to the Virâj that is spoken of in the opening verses of this hymn. The Brahman is *ekarshi*, the sole seer, because from it come forth as its breath, the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sâmaveda, etc.; see Bṛhad. Up. 2, 4, 10 : *asya mahato bhûtasya niśvasitam etad yad ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sâmavedo 'tharvâṅgirasa itihâsaḥ purâṇam vidyâ upanishadaḥ ślokâḥ sûtrâṇy anuvyâkhyânâni vyâkhyânâny asyaivaitâni sarvâṇi niśvasitâni*. The Brahman is *ekavṛt*, one-fold, because it is one and changeless; compare Bh. Gîtâ, 12, 3 : *sarvatragam acintyaṃ ca kûṭasthaṃ acalam dhruvam*[38] "The imperishable Brahman that is all-pervading, unthinkable, unchanging, immutable, eternal"; it is the *dhâma* or abode (of all); compare *ibid.* 11, 38 : *vettâsi vedyaṃ ca paraṃ ca dhâma* 'Thou art the knower, and the known; (thou art) the supreme abode'; *ibid.* 10, 12 : *paraṃ brahma paraṃ dhâma pavitraṃ paramaṃ bhavân* 'Thou art the supreme Brahman, the supreme abode, the highest purifier': Gauḍapâda-kârikâ, 4, 100 : *durdarśam atigambhîram ajam sâmyaṃ viśâradam* | *budhvâ padam anânâtvaṃ namaskurmo yathâbalam*; and Maitryupanishad, 6, 38 : *tataḥ śuddhaḥ sattvântarastham acalam amṛtam acyutaṃ dhruvaṃ vishṇu-sañjñitaṃ sarvâparaṃ dhâma satyakâma-sarvajñatva-*

[38] And also perhaps because in it all the gods and other things become one; (compare AV. 13, 4, 13: *ete asmin devâ ekavṛto bhavanti.* "In him all these gods become one" said of the Supreme Being, called Savitṛ in this hymn.

saṃyuktam . . . . paśyati. In the Brahman are all *âśishaḥ* or desires ; compare Ch. Up. 8, 1, 5 : *etat satyaṃ brahmapuram asmin kâmâḥ samâhitâḥ :* ' In this citadel, namely Brahman (so Śaṅkara explains the word *brahmapuram*) are placed all desires '; Maitryupanishat, 6, 30: *atra hi sarve kâmâḥ samâhitâḥ* : ' Here (in the Brahman) are all desires placed '; Ait. Up. 5, 2 : *saṅkalpaḥ kratur asuḥ kâmo vaśa iti sarvâṇy evaitâni prajñânasya nâmadheyâni bhavanti . . . . prajñânaṃ brahma* : ' *Saṅkalpa, kratu, asu, kâma, vaśa*—all these are names of only *prajñâna . . . . prajñâna* is Brahman '. The Brahman is *ekartu*, one-seasoned, because perhaps there is no succession of days and nights in Brahmaloka or to the Brahman there is but only one long unending day, and hence only one ' season '; compare Ch. Up. 8, 4, 1 : *naitaṃ setum ahorâtre tarataḥ . . . . etaṃ setuṃ tîrtvâpi naktam ahar evâbhinishpadyate sakṛd-vibhâto hy evaisha brahmalokaḥ.*" " This bridge is not crossed by day and night ; having crossed this bridge, even night becomes day ; in this Brahmaloka it is always day " ; *ibid.*, 3, 11, 3 : *na ha vâ asmâ udeti na nimlocati sakṛd divâ hâsmai bhavati ya etâm evaṃ brahmopanishadaṃ veda* " To him who thus knows the Brahma-mystery, there is no sun-rise and no sunset ; it is day to him once for all." Compare also Gauḍapâdakârikâ, 3, 35 : *tad eva nirbhayaṃ brahma . . . . ajam anidram asvapnam . . . . sakṛdvibhâtaṃ sarvajñam* : " That is the fearless Brahman . . . . unborn, sleepless, dreamless . . . . all-knowing, to which it is always day " ; and Muktikopanishat, 2, 73 : *sakṛd-vibhâtaṃ tv ajam ekam aksharam | alepakaṃ sarvagataṃ yad advayaṃ tad eva câhaṃ sakalaṃ vimukta om.*

M. Boyer, in the course of his explanation of these verses, says (p. 419) that, *a priori*, there is no reason to suppose that the five questions in v. 25 refer to the same person or thing, but that, as a matter of fact, the answers in v. 26 are capable of being referred to one deity, namely the sun. This is because he understands the last pâda of v. 26 to mean that ' the marvel (as already said above, *yaksha*=merveille in M. Boyer's opinion) on the earth . . . . is not surpassed by any.' It seems to me however that the words *nâti ricyate* should be understood, not as ' is not surpassed ' but as ' does not remain over ; is not different '. and that therefore these words in v. 26 refer to the same subject, and that hence the questions in v. 25 too refer to the same subject.

Ekadhâśishaḥ means literally, ' the desires become one (in that being) ', that is, that all desires are found at once in that being ; see above.

AV. 10, 2, 31–33 : *ashṭá'cakrâ návadvârâ devâ'nâṃ pû'r ayodhyâ' |*
tásyâṃ hiraṇyáyaḥ kóśaḥ svargó jyótishâ'vṛtaḥ || 31 ||
*tásmin hiraṇyáye kóśe tryàre tripráti*shṭhite |
tásmin yád yakshám âtmanvát tád vaí brahmavído viduḥ || 32 ||
prabhrâ'jamânâṃ háriṇîm yáśasâ sampárîvṛtâm |
púraṃ hiraṇyáyîṃ bráhmâ' viveśâ'parâjitâm || 33 ||

" The fortress of the gods has eight wheels (*i.e.*, circumvallations) and nine doors and is inexpugnable ; in it is a sheath of gold, heaven, enveloped in splendour ; verily, the Brahma-knowers know the animate being that is in this sheath of gold which has three spokes and is thrice-supported. Into this resplendent, yellow, invincible fortress of gold, enveloped in glory, entered the Brahman."

(*To be continued.*)

BUDDHIST WOMEN.

By Dr. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

(*Continued from page* 54.)

Uttarâ came of a certain clansmen's family at Sâvatthî. When grown up she heard Paṭâcârâ preach the Norm. She became a believer, entered the Order and became an *arhat*. (*Th. Commy*, pp. 161-162.)

Uttarî was a *therî* who was 120 years old. She went to beg for alms. Once, while going for alms, she met the Buddha on the way and when going to salute him, she fell down. The Buddha delivered a sermon to her, and she having attained the first stage of sanctification died. (*D.C.*, vol. III, p. 110.)

Khujjuttarâ was the maid servant of Sâmâvatî, queen of King Udena of Kosambî. Her daily duty was to buy flowers from Sumana, a garland-maker for eight *kahâpaṇas*. Once the Buddha together with the *bhikkhusaṁgha* was invited to take meals in Sumana's house. Khujjuttarâ waited on her and heard the sermon delivered by the Buddha. She obtained *sotâpattiphalaṁ* after hearing the sermon. In former days she used to steal four *kahâpaṇas* out of eight *kahâpaṇas* given to her by her mistress for buying flowers. After having obtained *sotâpattiphalaṁ* she brought flowers to the value of eight *kahâpaṇas*. She confessed her guilt when asked why she brought such a large quantity of flowers. She told Sâmâvatî that she had acquired knowledge and came to realise that stealing things is a sin committed by a person who listened to the Buddha's sermon. Sâmâvatî after listening to the *dhamma* repeated by her obtained *sotâpattiphalaṁ*. She was well versed in *Tripiṭaka*. (*D.C.*, I, pp. 208 f.)

Dinnâ was an *upâsikâ* of the Buddha. She was the queen of King Uggasena. A king promised to the deity of a *nigrodha* tree that he would worship the deity with the blood of one hundred kings of Jambudîpa if he got the throne after his father's death. He then defeated all the kings gradually and went to worship the deity, but the deity, seeing that many kings would be killed, being compassionate to them, refused his worship on the ground that the queen of King Uggasena whom he had defeated was not brought. The king had her brought, and she preached a sermon on the avoidance of life-slaughter in their presence. The deity approved and the king refrained from life-slaughter, and released the defeated and captured kings, who praised Dinnâ for this act. It was due to her that so many kings were saved. (*D.C.*, II, p. 15 f.)

Sonâ came of a clansmen's family at Sâvatthî. In course of time, after marriage, she became the mother of ten sons and was known as Bahuputtikâ. The *Dhammapada Commy.* says that she had seven sons and seven daughters (*D.C.*, II, pp. 276--278). On her husband renouncing the world she divided all her riches equally between her sons. In a very short time her sons and daughters-in-law ceased to show respect. She then entered the Order of the *bhikkhuṇis* and began to practise insight strenuously in her old age. The master gave her suitable instructions. Sonâ Bhikkhuṇî then attained arhatship. (*Th. Commy*,, 95.) She occupied the foremost place among the *bhikkhuṇîs*, making great exertion (*Manorathapûraṇî*, 218-219 ; cf. *A.N.*, I, 125).

Bhaddâ Kuṇḍalakeśâ came of the family of a banker at Râjagaha. When grown up, she one day saw Satthuka, the *purohita's* son, being led to execution by the city guard. She fell in love with him at first sight. She resolved to die if she did not get him. Her father heard of this and got Satthuka released by bribing the guard heavily. Satthuka was brought to Bhaddâ, who, decked in jewels, waited upon him. He saw her jewels and coveted them. He told Bhaddâ to get ready an offering to be given to the cliff deity. Bhaddâ did so. She adorned herself with all her jewels and accompanied her husband to the precipice with an offering. On reaching the top of the precipice, Satthuka told her to put off all her ornaments which he had come there to take. In vain Bhaddâ pleaded that she herself and all her ornaments belonged to him. Satthuka did not take any notice of her pleadings. He wanted all her ornaments. Bhaddâ then prayed for an embrace with all her jewels on.

Satthuka granted her prayer. Bhaddâ embraced him in front and then, as if embracing him from the back, pushed him over the precipice. Satthuka died (cf. *Dhammapada Commy.*, vol. II, pp. 217 f.). Thereafter Bhaddâ did not come home, but she left the world and entered the Order of the Nigaṇṭhas. She learnt the doctrine of the Nigaṇṭhas and left their company. Thereafter she found no one equal to her in debate. She set up the branch of a *jambu* tree on a heap of sand at the gate of some village or town, with the declaration that any body able to join issue with her in debate should trample on this bough. Sâriputta ordered some children who were near the bough, to trample on it. The children did so. When Bhaddâ saw the bough trampled, she challenged Sâriputta to a debate before some Śakyan recluses and was advised to go to Buddha for refuge. She went to the Buddha who discerned the maturity of her knowledge. Buddha spoke a verse and she attained arhatship with analytical knowledge. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 99 f.) Bhaddâ was assigned a chief place among the *bhikkhunîs* possessing ready wit. (*Manorathapûraṇî*, p. 375 ; cf. *Aṅguttara Nikâya*, I, 25.)

Sâmâ came of a rich householder's family at Kosambî. She was moved by the death of her dear friend, the lay-disciple Sâmâvatî. One day she listened to Elder Ânanda preaching and acquired insight. On the seventh day after this she attained arhatship with a thorough grasp of the *Dhamma* in form and meaning. (*Th. Commy.*, 44-45.)

Another *Sâmâ* who came of a clansmen's family at Kosambî, was a friend of Sâmâvatî, whose death afflicted her so much that she could not gain self-control for twenty-five years. In her old age she heard a sermon through which her insight expanded and she won arhatship with *paṭisaṁbhidâ* (analytical knowledge). (*Th. Commy.*, 45-46.)

Ubbirî came of the family of a rich householder at Sâvatthî. She was very beautiful, and was brought to the palace by the king of Kosala. A few years later a daughter was born to her. This daughter was named Jîvâ. The king saw the child and was very much pleased. He then had Ubbirî anointed as queen. After a few years Jîvâ died. The mother used to go to the cemetery and shed tears. Questioned by the Exalted One as to why she was weeping, she said that she was sheding tears for her deceased daughter. She was questioned by the Exalted One as to which of the 84,000 daughters she was weeping for. She then spent a little thought and intelligence over the Norm thus taught by the Buddha. She was established in insight, and in due course she won arhatship by virtue of great merits. (*Th. Commy.*, 53-54).

Kisâgotamî came of poor family at Sâvatthî. She was married to a rich banker's son who had forty crores of wealth. (*D.C.*, II., pp. 270-75). Bodhisatta was her maternal uncle's son. One day, while the Bodhisatta was returning home after receiving the news of Râhula's birth, he was seen by Kisâgotamî from her palace. Buddha's beauty pleased Kisâgotamî so much that she uttered a stanza, the purport of which is, "the mother who has such a child and the father who has such a son and the wife who has such a husband are surely happy" (*nibbuta*), but the Bodhisatta took the word *nibbuta* in the sense of *nibbâṇaṁ*. The Bodhisatta presented her with a pearl necklace for making him hear such auspicious and sacred words. (*D.C.*, vol. I, p. 85; cf. *Atthasâlinî*, p. 34.) On the death of her only child she went to the Buddha with the dead body and requested him to bring the dead to life. Buddha asked her to bring a little mustard seed from a house where no man had died. Kisâgotamî went from house to house, but she came back to Buddha quite unsuccessful. The Buddha delivered a sermon which led her to become a *bhikkhuṇî*. Her insight grew within a short time and she attained arhatship. (*Th. Commy.*, 174 f.). Then the master assigned her the foremost place among the *bhikkhuṇîs* who used very rough and simple robes. (*A.N.*, I, p. 25 ; cf. *Manorathapûranî*, p. 380.) Once Kisâgotamî went to Andhavana to meditate. Mâra came to her and said, " You have killed your sons and now you are crying. Why are you not searching for another man ?" Kisâgotamî replied, " I have completely destroyed my sons and my husband and I have no sorrow. I am not afraid of you, my attachment is destroyed and ignorance is dispelled. Killing the

army of death I live sinless." Mâra then left her. (*S.N.*, I, pp. 129–130). Once Kisâgotamî was coming through the sky to worship the Buddha while Sakka with his retinue was seated before the Buddha. She did not come to the Buddha, but worshipped him from the sky and went away. Being questioned by Sakka, the Buddha answered that she was his daughter. Kisâgotamî, who was the foremost among the *bhikkhunîs*, used very rough and simple robes. (*D.C.*, IV, 156–157.)

Paṭâcârâ came of a banker's family at Sâvatthî. In her youth she formed an intimacy with a servant of her house. On the day fixed for her marriage with another youth of equal rank she eloped with her lover and dwelt in a hamlet. There she used to perform household duties, and her lover used to bring wood from the forest and work in a field belonging to others. Shortly afterwards Paṭâcârâ gave birth to a child, but at the time of the birth of her second child, a storm arose. Her husband went to a forest to cut grass and sticks. While he cut a stake standing on an ant-hill, a snake came from the ant-hill and bit him. He fell there and died. The next morning Paṭâcârâ went to the forest with her two children and found her husband dead. She lamented and left the place. On her way to her father's house there was a river, the water of which was knee-deep. She lost her children while crossing the river. With tears of grief she came to Sâvatthî and learnt that her parents and brother had perished under the debris of the fallen house. She turned mad. Since then she did not wear clothing, and was therefore known as Paṭâcârâ. One day the Exalted One saw her in that plight and said, "Sister! Cover your shamelessness." She regained her consciousness, and the Lord taught her that sons, parents and kinsfolk were no shelter, and asked her to discern this truth in order to make clear quickly the way to *nibbâṇa*. Then she was established in the *sotâpattiphalaṁ*. She attained arhatship with analytical knowledge (*Th. Commy.*, p. 108 f.; *Manorathapûrani*, pp. 356-360; cf. *A.N.*, I, 25). Thereafter she preached the Buddha's *dhamma* and converted many afflicted women to the Buddhist faith. The *Therîgâthâ Commy.* says that Paṭâcârâ had five hundred female disciples, who came of different families of different places. They were married, bore children and lived domestic lives. Overwhelmed with grief at the loss of children they went to Paṭâcârâ, who asked them not to weep when the manner of birth and death was unkown to them. They were greatly moved by Paṭâcârâ's teachings and renounced the world under her. They performed exercises for insight and soon became established in arhatship with *paṭisaṁbhidâ*. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 122–123; cf. *Dhammapada Commy.*, II, p. 260 f.)

Vâsiṭṭhî came of a clansmen's family at Vaisâlî. Her parents gave her in marriage to a clansman's son of equal position. She had a son. When the child was able to run about, he died. Vâsiṭṭhî went mad with grief. She came to Mithilâ and there she saw the Exalted One, self-controlled and self-contained. At the sight of the Buddha the frenzy left her and she recovered her normal mind. The master taught her the outlines of the Norm. Performing all proper duties, she acquired insight, and struggling with the help of full knowledge, she soon attained arhatship together with a thorough grasp of the Norm in form and spirit. (*Th. Commy.*, 124–125.)

Dhammadinnâ came of a clansmen's family at Râjagaha and became the wife of a Seṭṭhi named Visâkhâ. One day her husband heard the master teaching, and after hearing him he did not hold converse with her as he used to do before, but renounced the worldly life. Dhammadinnâ too became a *bhikkhunî* and took up her residence in a village. One of the great merits acquired in her previous births was her subjugation of the complexities of thought, word and deed. By virtue of this merit, she soon attained arhatship together with thorough mastery of the form and meaning of the *Dhamma*. Then she returned to Râjagaha and was questioned by her husband on the *khandas* and the like. She answered so correctly that she was praised by the Buddha and was ranked as foremost among the sisters who could preach. (*Th. Commy.*, 15; cf. *Manorathpûraṇî*, pp. 360–363; *Aṅguttara N.*, I, 25.)

Dhammá came of a respectable family at Sâvatthî. Given in marriage to a suitable husband, she became converted. On her husband's death, she entered the Order. In due course she won arhatship with thorough knowledge of the Norm in form and meaning. (*Th. Commy.*, p. 23).

Mettikâ was the daughter of a rich Brâhman of Râjagaha. She climbed a hill and lived like a recluse. She acquired insight and within a short time won arhatship (*Th. Commy.*, p. 35).

Abhayâ came of a respectable family at Ujjain. She was a friend of Abhayamâtâ. She followed her in renouncing the world, and entered the Order. In course of time she attained arhatship at Râjagaha. (*Th. Commy.*, 41–43.)

Somâ was born at Râjagaha as the daughter of the *purohita* of King Bimbisâra. When advanced in years she became a lay disciple. Afterwards she entered the order of the *bhikkhuṇîs*. She performed exercises of insight and within a short time won arhatship. Mâra tried in vain to divert her from this path. From the *Saṁyutta Nikâya* we learn that Mâra came to her and said, "What is to be obtained by the Rishis, you are, with slight wisdom, trying to have it. That which is difficult to be obtained by great sages, you being a silly woman, want to have." She replied: "If my mind is steadfast, I must acquire it, my womanly nature will not prevent me from acquiring it." Mâra then left her. (*Th. Commy.*, pp. 66–67 ; cf. *S.N.*, 1, p. 129.)

Bhaddâ Kapilânî came of a Brâhman family of the Kosiya clan at Sâgala. She was married to a young noble Pippali at the village of Mahâtittha. When her husband renounced the world, she made over her wealth to her kinsfolk. She then left the world and dwelt five years in the hermitage of the heretics. Thereafter, she was ordained by Mahâpajâpati Gotamî. Establishing insight she soon won arhatship. By the master she was ranked first among the *bhikkhuṇîs* who could remember previous births (*Th. Commy.*, 67 f. ; cf. *Manorathapûraṇî*, p. 375; cf. *Aṅguttara N.*, I, p. 25). Besides the women who embraced a homeless life and became *bhikkhuṇîs* and *therîs*, there were others who were staunch believers in the Buddha's *dhamma*. These women used to lead a domestic life, offering charities in the shape of coin and kind to *theras*, *bhikkhuṇîs* and *bhikkhus* in the expectation of a happier rebirth or for the benefit of departed relations. The incidents in the life of some of these women are recorded in the Buddhist literature, and it would not be out of place here to mention them below.

Uttarâ, daughter of Nandaka, Commander-in-chief of Piṅgala, king of Suraṭṭha, was a believer in the Buddha. She used to offer to a saintly *thera* cold and perfumed drink as well as excellent cake and sweets for the benefit of her departed father. (*Vide* my *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, p. 48).

Lakhumâ lived near one of the gates of Benares. She used to offer a spoonful of rice to the *bhikkhus* when they entered the town by that gate. Thus she acquired the habit of offering charity. In the *âsanasâlâ* (rest house), she used to prepare seats for, and supply water to, the *bhikkhus*. She was established in *sotâpatti*. After death she was reborn in the Tâvatiṁsa heaven. (*Vide* my *Heaven and Hell*, p. 50.)

A daughter of a certain *upâsaka* of Râjagaha was very much devoted to Mahâmoggallâna. One day she welcomed a *thera*, offered him a seat, worshipped him with a garland of *sumana* flower and gave him sweets, etc. On her death, she was reborn in the Tâvatiṁsa heaven. (*Vimânavatthu Commy.*, 179–179.)

(*To be continued.*)

NICOLAO MANUCHY'S WILL AND TESTAMENT.[1]

By Mons. SINGARAVELOU PILLAI.

Before publishing Nicolao Manuchy's testament, I wish to say a few words about this historical personage.

Others more competent than myself, such as—

(1) Mr. Henry Davidson Love, late Lieutenant-Colonel, Royal Engineers, Hon. Fellow of the University of Madras, in his work (Indian Records Series) *Vestiges of Madras*, 1640—1800, in four volumes, 1913,

(2) Miss L. M. Anstey in *The Indian Antiquary*, March 1920, under the title of "More about Nicolao Manucci."

(3) The late Mr. William Irvine, Assistant Magistrate of Saharanpur, in the introduction to the translation of his book *Storia do Mogor*, 1653–1708 (Indian Text Series, 4 vols., 1907–1898) and lastly (4) my intimate friend Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., Professor, Patna College, in his work *Studies in Mughal India*, have already related the life and work of this important personage.

So, as an addendum to their publications, I wish to lay before you the results of my historical researches concerning this celebrated Venetian diplomat.

Nicolao Manuchy was born at Venice in 1639 and visited India as a traveller during the reign of Shah Jahan in 1686. His knowledge of the art of Æsculapius made him the first doctor to the sons of the Great Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. His profession retained him in the Great Mughal's Court for forty years and there he lived in close friendship with the Emperors and the viziers and he got even admittance into the seraglio, a privilege not easily bestowed. That intimacy and his sojourn in the Court for nearly half a century enabled him to complete his MS. in Portuguese with the French title of *Histoire Générale de l'Empire Mogol depuis sa Fondation.* It is those manuscripts that Father François Catrou of The Society of Jesus translated into French in 1705 and published in two volumes. It is also from those memoirs, that Jean de Laët prepared his notes on the Mughals which commence *Nos fragmentum e Belgico, quod e genuino illius Regni Chronico expreffum credimus libere vertimus.* Manuchy has also published a book called *Guerras de Golconda e Visapour com varios successos ate a era de 1700*, in three volumes.

We also owe to him the fine collection of Indo-Persian paintings which he took to Europe in 1691 and which have since remained deposited in the National Library in Paris.

His honesty, his impartiality and his scholarship in Eastern languages led to his appointment by the Madras Government, as well as by that of Pondicherry, as an ambassador and extraordinary messenger to the Nawab of Arcot and other princes, to carry them presents and seek easy ways of consolidating relations with them, and in critical moments to make use of his talent to settle delicate matters of diplomacy. He fulfilled with great cleverness such missions to the Nawab of Arcot in 1687-1712 under Thomas Pitt, Francois Martin, Dumas and Hebert. In support of the above assertion I refer to the Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book of 1701, page 3—" One Senr. Nicolas Manuchi a Venetian and an inhabitant of ours for many years, who has the reputation of an honest man, besides hee has liv'd at the King's Court upwards of thirty years and was a servant to one of the Princes, and speaks the Persian Language excellently well, for which reasons wee think (him) the proprest person to send at this time with our Chief Dubash Ramapah, and have unanimously agreed, with the advice of all that were capable of giving it, to send the following presents in order to their setting out to-morrow on their journey, and have deliver'd in our Instructions and Letters as enter'd after this Consultation."

[1] Note.—This article is reprinted, with kind permission, from vol. VIII of the *Proceedings of Meetings* of the *Indian Historical Records Commission*, pp. 169–175. (Proceedings of Eighth Meeting held at Lahore, November 1925.) A few clerical amendments have been made.

In 1670 he resided in Lahore and practised his profession of doctor in the royal family. In the last days of his life he lived sometimes in Madras and sometimes at Pondicherry, choosing the latter as his favourite residence.

Testament.

Before the Secretary of the Conseil Supérieur and the Royal Company of France at Pondicherry, the undersigned and in presence of two witnesses mentioned in the sequel, was present Mr. Nicolao de Manuchy, inhabitant of Pondicherry, sound in mind, memory and sense, as it appeared to us and to the above witnesses, having for the following purpose repaired to the office of the above Secretary, who, willing to be ready for the certain hour of death, afraid of being caught by the uncertainty of death, without having put to right his concerns and disposed of his properties which God pleased to give him, has made and dictated to me, the above Secretary, his testament and statute of last will as follows :

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost, at first, as a true Christian and good Catholic, has recommended and recommends his soul to God, the Creator, the Father, the Son and the Holy-Ghost, entreating His Divine Majesty by the infinite merits of death and passion of his only son our Saviour, Jesus Christ, by the intercession of the glorious Virgin Mary, of St. Nicolas, his good patron, and of all the saints and very happy souls, to receive his soul coming out of his body and to be willing to place it in His holy heaven.

Ditto has declared he desires that his body should be buried in the church of the Capuchin monks at Pondicherry very near Le Benistier, and that a high-mass may be sung over his body with ordinary service assisted by all the fathers who may then be present.

That his soul may rest in peace as early as possible, and for that purpose he gives and leaves by will to the above Capuchin Monks the sum of twenty current pagodas.

Ditto has declared that he gives to the said Capuchins of Pondicherry the sum of sixty current pagodas, to make them pray for the repose of his soul.

Ditto has declared he gives the poor five current pagodas, which will be distributed after the service, on the day of his burial.

Ditto has declared he gives Nicolas Beuret, Charles' son, his god-son in Pondicherry, the sum of five current pagodas.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to his god-son, Pierre Forchet, called Duquenola, similar sum of five current pagodas.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to the eldest daughter of Mr. Delalande, clerk, the sum of twenty current pagodas for her marriage.

Ditto has declared he gives ten pagodas to the Capuchins of Pondicherry to pray to God for the souls in Purgatory.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to one Patchy Ko, by name, residing in Madras, the sum of five current Pagodas.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to the children of one Reginal of Madras the sum of six current pagodas.

Ditto the testator in question has declared that the sums of six hundred and seventy pagodas and the eight hundred pagodas he has in the Treasury of the above Company of France at Pondicherry may be withdrawn with interest and formed into a capital, together with all the other assets which may be received after his death, the said capital to be used by Mr. le Chevalier Hebert and Counsellors of the Conseil Supérieur of Pondicherry in purchasing diamonds and other precious goods, the whole to be handed over to the ambassador of Venice or any other agent of Venice in Paris ; that the testator in question requests to have the above goods handed over to Mr. Andre Manuchy, his brother, or to his heirs at Venice, to whom he gives and leaves by will the above properties.

And for executing the present testament by increasing rather than diminishing the bequests he requests Mr. le Chevalier Herbert, the Governor of Pondicherry, to be pleased to take the trouble, and nominates him for the purpose, having entire confidence in him.

This will was so made, dictated and nominated by the testator in question to the above Secretary, who in the presence of the witnesses read and re-read this present testament, which he said he had heard well and wished to be executed according to its form and tenor.

Leaving aside any other testament and codicil which he might have made with his own hand, he wishes only this to have effect; made and passed at Fort Louis in Pondicherry in the office of the above Secretary in the year 1712, the eighteenth day of January in the forenoon in the presence of Mr. François Moufle Ecuyer Delafosse, Lieutenant d'infanterie and Pierre Elyer de la Vaupalier, clerk of the above Royal Company of France at Pondicherry, who are the witnesses called by the testator. The testator and the witnesses have given their signatures along with me, the above Secretary;

Signed: NICOLAO MANUCHY.
Signed: MOUFLE DELAFOSSE.
Signed: ELYER DE LA VAUPALIER.
Signed: DELORME.

Address of Nicolao Manuchy's relatives.

His two brothers, Andre and George Manouchy.
His two maiden sisters Angella and Francisca.
A third one who he is not sure is alive, Perine.
Residing at the quarters of St. Jean, Evangelist St., Stin, Venice.

NOTE.—This information about his family address has been found in a bit of paper attached to the present testament. I have found this testament among the notarial records of Pondicherry. The paper has become yellow and is so dotted with holes here and there that two or three words cannot be deciphered.

According to the will of the testator, he wished to die at Pondicherry and be buried there, but he lived long after making his testament, as is evidenced by the following events. No one is sure of the date of his death. Several have assigned it to the years 1711—1712, but they are quite wrong.

Mr. H. Dodwell, ex-curator of old Records, Madras, now professor in the School of Oriental Studies in the University of London, says in the preface to his book *Records of Fort St. George*, Minutes of Proceedings in the Mayor's Court of Madraspatam (June to December 1689 and July 1716 to March 1719) ". . . . . A still more interesting person who appears here, is 'Dr. Manuch,' with his characteristic suit against a 'Moorman' to recover winnings at Back-gammon. The date of the suit shows moreover that the time of Manucci's death must be assigned to a later period than Mr. Irvine supposed."

Mr. Julian James Cotton, I.C.S., in his work *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras*, page 3, No. 8 (6th October 1683) says . . "Clarke's widow married the Venetian Nicolao Manucci, who died at San Thome about 1709, aged 74. Manucci lived in Madras from 1686 till his death."

It cannot be that he died in 1709, as he was alive in 1712 and made his will on the 18th January of the same year. Again it is said that he died at San Thome. But there is no proof of any tomb having been built there for him. I have gone through the notarial Records from 1712, the date of the above will, to 1725, five years after the first appearance of his second will and codicil of the 18th January 1719 (dated Madras). I have not found any record about the date of his death and bequests. After the discovery of his second will I made sure he was alive in the year 1719.

Miss L. M. Anstey in her article; "More about Nicolao Manucci" (*Indian Antiquary*, March 1920, pages 52, 53) says: "On January 14, 1712, the president of (Madras) . . . . informed the Board that a special order had come to Pondicherry calling for Manucci's attendance at Shâh 'Âlam's court (then at Lâhor) . . . ."

However the Emperor Muazzam Bahadur Shah, the first, *alias* Shah-Alam the first, died at Lahore on February 27. Mr. Manucci lived then surely at Pondicherry, for it is there

he made his first will of the 18th January 1712. Therefore, he could not go to Lahore at the call of Shah-Alam the first. He could not make that journey, for on the 23rd January 1712, Mr. le Chevalier Hebert sent him on a mission to the Nawab of Arcot. That mission was the last one which he fulfilled to the entire satisfaction of the Governor of Pondicherry and his counsellers. From the 3rd December 1718 to the 30th January 1719, he was claiming by means of a law-suit the money that Cojee-Baba (Khwaja Baba) owed him. So he was still alive in 1719.

Mr. H. D. Love in the second volume of his *Vestiges of Old Madras* says on page 125 ". . . . . the date of Manucci's death and the mode of disposal of his property are alike unknown . . . ." Therefore Mr. Love has ignored completely the existence of a will. Among the notarial records of Pondicherry, there is a contract of exchange between Mr. Manuchy and Dela Prevostiere, dated the 3rd July 1709. " Before the Secretary of the Conseil Supérieur of the Royal Company of France at Pondicherry, the undersigned, were present: Mr. Pierre Andre Dela Prevostiere, counsellor for the above Company and Nicolao Manouchy residing at present in Madras, who made together the following agreements namely: that the above Mr. Dela Prevostiere made over, released and transferred by right of selling and by interchange to the above Mr. Manuchy accepting of the present of a house situated in that town New Gate-Street of Goudelour, etc., and in exchange and for the payment for the above house the above Mr. Manuchy made over, released and transferred to the above Mr. Dela Prevostiere a house of Mr. Manouchy situated at Grand-Mont near San-Thome. That house was bought from Mr. François thro' contract of exchange passed before the Tabellion (notary) of San-Thome on the 9th of August 1697; which Mr. Guetty bought from one Jean Antoine Flaman by name thro' contract passed before the Tabellion (notary) on the 27th of July of the same year." (*Note.*—M. Dela Prevostiere was the Governor of Pondicherry from the 20th August 1718 to 11th October 1721).

22nd February 1711. Contract of sale made by Mr. Nicolao Manuchy to Mr. Edouard de la Cloche. Mr. Nicolao Manouchy residing in that town (Pondicherry) sold to Mr. Edouard de la Cloche, capitaine des vaisseaux, residing at present in Madras, some land closed with earthern walls, with a house and a garden situated at Madras beyond Thomas Clarke bridge (received from Thomas Clarke's inheritance thro' his wife) to the value of eight hundred pagodas.

The will being dated 12th January 1712, we may be led to think perhaps he died in the course of the year or in the ensuing years. Bearing this hypothesis in mind I went through the records of the " Etat-Civil," in which births, deaths and marriages are registered. It was a fruitless search. I found nothing about the date of his death; but it was not all in vain; because in the course of my researches, I discovered a second will with its codicil made at Madras on the 8th January 1719. It is in Portuguese. The paper has also turned yellow; it is very difficult to read and make it out. For the paper is in a very bad condition; as soon as it is touched, it crumbles. If the paper had been in good condition we might have found some changes he might have wished to introduce in the disposal of his properties mentioned in the first will. This will is in four pages signed by the testator Nicolao Manuchy and M ie de M. Famirante, and then comes the codicil signed by Nicolao Manouchy and Mr. Quiel de Lima. At the end of signatures two seals are affixed in red wax bearing the arms of the Company. Then it bears the following statement: The present will is on this day the 23rd August 1720, deposited by the Capuchin monk, Thomas, missionary, in the registry of the Conseil Supérieur of this town, to be kept as original and copies to be handed over and delivered to those whom it may concern.

Signed: F. THOMAS, CAPUCHIN MONK, M.A.,
Du Laurens.

According to the wish expressed in his first will, Mr. Nicolao Manuchy wished to die at Pondicherry and to be buried there. His desire was not fulfilled, because, if he had truly

died at Pondicherry, the record of his death would have been indubitably entered in the registers of the " Etat-Civil." This leads me to conclude that he died elsewhere. According to Mr. Cotton, he must have died at Mylapore. It is not proved by any inscription about him ; nor was there any tomb built over his grave. Therefore nobody can say, with certainty, the exact place of his death.

I think, it is but a hypothesis, that Mr. Manucci in his second will would have also indicated the place where he wished to be buried and the properties which he bequeathed to his heirs.

As his will with its codicil was deposited in the registry of the Conseil Supérieur by the Capuchin monk Thomas on the 23rd August 1720, I suppose he must have died on the 22nd or 23rd August of that year ; for such deposits are made the very day or the day after the testator's death. Till we find something to prove the contrary we may safely assume that the celebrated Venetian died on the 22nd or 23rd of August 1720.

I am still going on with my researches to find out the exact day of his death and shall publish in extenso any new discoveries I may make in the course of my studies.

NOTE.—Writers spell in different ways the name Manucci : Manuch Nicolas—Manucho Senhr Nicola—Manuchee Monsr—Manuche Senor—Nicolao Mannuci—Manooch—Senhr Nichola Manuch—Signor Niccolao Manucci—Manoucha—Manuchy—Nicolas Manook—Manuch Dr. Nicola Manouchy—Manouchi—

The true spelling is Nicolao Manuchy in conformity with his signature found in different records which are in the Pondicherry archives.

MISCELLANEA.

IGNICOLES, A NAME FOR THE PARSEES.

The term Ignicole, obviously from the Latin *ignicola*, a fire-worshipper, appears to have been invented by Sir John Chardin, to describe the people now known universally as the Parsees or Persians. His books of travel in the seventeenth century, though famous, seem never to have become popular, and perhaps that is why Ignicole, as a descriptive name, fell flat. But it occurs twice in Lloyd's translation of Chardin's French account of his *Travels in Persia*, published in 1720 and reprinted in 1927 in a fine production of the Argonaut Press under that title, with an introduction by Sir Percy Sykes. Chardin had evidently a great admiration of the original inhabitants of Persia, and on p. 138 of the Argonaut Press edition he writes : "The religion of the Ancient Persians, who were Ignicoles, or worshippers of Fire, lay'd upon them the strictest engagements to cultivate the Land ; for according to their Maxims, it was a pious and meritorious Action, to plant a Tree, to water a Field, or to make a barren spot of earth yield Fruit. Whereas the Philosophy of the Mahometans, tends only to the enjoying of the things of this World, while one is in it, without having any more regard to it than a Highway, through which one is to pass quickly." Again on p. 129 he writes : "If Persia was inhabited by Turks, who are still more slothful, and less engaged in the things of this Life than the Persians, and cruelly severe in their manner of government, it would be still more barren than it is. Whereas, if it was in the hands of the Armenians, or of those people called Ignicoles, one could quickly find it appear again in all its Ancient Glory and Primitive Splendor."

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA. By J. N. SAMADDAR. 2nd Ed. Kurtaline Press, Calcutta.

I am glad to see that Professor Samaddar's excellent book on the Glories of Magadha has run to a second edition, which it well deserves. I wish it every success, especially as it has been produced under sad circumstances of health. The excellence of the work is proved by the willing assistance the Professor has received from various well-known scholars and needs no further recommendation, but I must add that the many plates are very fine and most useful to those engaged in research. There is besides much new information carefully compiled which will go far to make the book one that scholars cannot ignore.

R. C. TEMPLE.

MCCRINDLE'S ANCIENT INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY PTOLEMY : reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*. By SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI, with Introduction and Notes. Calcutta 1927.

Professor Majumdar Sastri has produced a most useful book and done Indian Scholars a great service by this reprint of McCrindle's well-known work of over forty years ago. The original had become very scarce and is moreover not in a form that is pleasant to read, whereas this Edition is clear, if not so handy as the former one. Professor Majumdar's introduction is good and most useful, and his notes to Ptolemy's difficult text are up to date. What more can be said of a reprint ?

R. C. TEMPLE.

Bhagavadajjukiyam, by Bodhayana, edited by P. Aunjan Achan (with a preface by Prof. Winternitz).

This is a work called *Prahasana* in Sanskrit, usually regarded as a farce, one of the ten classes of dramatic composition known to Sanskrit. This work is perhaps very much more of a comedy than of a farce, and the element of comedy is made to appear not so much in the acting as in the subject-matter itself. It is a sort of a comedy of an error with just a satirical tinge in it. The story is very simple. A Parivrâjaka, or hermit of the Yogic school, is introduced with a disciple of his by name Śâṇḍilya, who was a Buddhist Bhikshu, but now a disciple of the Parivrâjaka. These two are introduced in conversation on questions of higher religion and philosophy, and enter a garden conversing. A courtesan by name Vasantasênâ is introduced with two companions, expecting to meet her lover there. As the Parivrâjaka and his disciple enter, Vasantasênâ is bitten by a serpent and rapidly collapses in death. The Parivrâjaka exhibits his power of Yoga to his disciple by transferring his soul into the body of the dancing girl, who revives, but speaks and conducts herself not as her own real self, but as the Parivrâjaka, whose dead body is lying some distance away in the immediate neighbourhood. The mother of the courtesan and her lover both arrive on hearing of her death, and are surprised to find her speaking, but not as she herself used to do, and take it that she has gone mad. In the meanwhile the discovery of an error is made by the messengers of death, viz., that they had carried off a wrong soul to the region of death, and they return to restore it to its body. But finding that it is already infused with life, they set it in the dead body of the Parivrâjaka some distance away. The body of the Parivrâjaka now revives, but the revivified Parivrâjaka conducts himself and talks not as he himself, but like the courtesan. This comic situation is what is intended to be produced, and in the end the whole error gets rectified by the messengers of death returning and effecting the exchange of souls, thus setting matters right.

It is a spirited poem throughout and the plot is worked up to the *dénouement* with great skill. The composition itself may be regarded as that of a masterpoet, the dramatic effect produced is, notwithstanding the introduction of the supernatural, almost real and lifelike.

Nothing is known of the author, except that he is a Bodhâyana Kavi, which the comparatively late commentator notes. There is nothing else to lead to an identification, but there is the possibility that he might have been Bodhâyana the Vṛittikâra, not Baudhâyana the law-giver. The discussion of the Yoga and Yogic practice may lead one to the inference that it is a play later than the fifth century, to which is ascribed the *Yoga Sûtras* of Patañjali by some scholars. Such an argument would imply the non-existence of the practice of the Yoga before the *Sûtras* of Patañjali, which is hardly warranted. This comic play figures very largely in the discussion relating to the Bhâsa problem, as this *Prahasana* has, in regard to certain features, considerable similarity to the plays of Bhâsa. But that by itself would not warrant the inference which has been built upon it, that it was an adaptation by the Châkkiyars of Kêraḷa, and on that untenable ground a late date has been ascribed to the comic play as well as the dramas of Bhâsa. This inference is hardly justified, as Professor Winternitz points out. Neither this play nor several of the Bhâsa dramas can be regarded as adaptations from the plays as they are. This opens out many other questions for discussion, which it would be out of place to take up in a review.

The editor has edited this work from six manuscripts, one of which also contains a commentary, which is printed. The commentary is ascribed to the sixteenth century. A feature of one of the manuscripts, written in the old Tamil-Malayalam style, is worth referring to here. Certain words in Prakrit, where the consonants double are written with the first vowel followed by a half cipher followed by the next following vowel. For instance the word for " Arya " is either 'Ayya' or 'Ajja.' In either case the manuscript writes A°ya and A°a for the two words 'Ayya' and 'Ajja', which is interpreted as a slightly pronounced 'Ya' of the Prakrit grammarians. That may be all right for one form of the word 'Ayya'. But it hardly explains the 'Ajja' form. It may after all be a manner of writing in Tamil which sometimes does occur, where instead of a double consonant, sometimes a three dotted aspirate is introduced in Tamil. For instance *pal tuḷi* becomes *baḥṛuḷi*; whereas *kal tûṉ* becomes *karṛûn*. Perhaps the Malayalam writing of the peculiar character represents a phenomenon like this. This is only by the way.

The editor has done his work very well, and we congratulate him on the successful production of a very important work like the *Bhagavadajjukîyam*, a name which is given to the drama to indicate the confusion that was introduced between the Bhagavat, or ascetic, and Ajjukâ the courtesan, owing to the confusion between the two that had been brought about in the course of the play.

S. K. Aiyangar.

Indian Historical Records Commission; Proceedings of Meetings, vol. IX, December, 1926.

This volume, like so many of the preceding issues, contains several articles of interest. Inspired by a visit to Chambéry in Savoy, the birth-place and last resting place of Bénoit de Boigne, Sir Evan Cotton furnishes a fascinating sketch of the career of that distinguished soldier of fortune, who played such an important part in Hindustan between the years 1784 and 1795 in consolidating the power of Mahâdajî Sindhia. The article—for which an appropriate head-line appears in Tasso's words *Guerreggio in Asia, e non vi cambio o merco*, adds considerably to our knowledge of de Boigne's life. Another article

from the pen of the late lamented Mr. Julian J. Cotton throws many entertaining sidelights upon William Knighton's *Private Life of an Eastern King*. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson describes some old European tombs of the 17th century at Surat, Broach and Karwâr. John Marshall, whose Notes and Diary kept in India in 1668–72 are being published by the Oxford University Press, is the subject of an article contributed by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan. In *Jahangir and the Portuguese* the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., gives a reproduction of a manuscript copy, with the Portuguese text and an English translation, of the remarkable treaty concluded between Jahângîr and the Portuguese on the 7th June 1615, the whole of which had not hitherto been published. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali presents a brief sketch of the career of Shujâ'ud-daula, Nawâb Vazîr of Oudh (1754–75). A new, and practically unknown, chapter in the history of ancient India is dealt with by Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth in *Hindoos in Armenia 150 Years before Christ*, in which he quotes from the *History of Taron* (a province of Armenia) written by Zenob or Zenobias a Syrian and one of the first disciples of St. Gregory the Illuminator, where reference is made to the history of a Hindu colony that had existed in Armenia since the middle of the 2nd century B.C. till the beginning of the 4th century A.D. As will be clear from this synopsis, the Commission continues to do valuable work.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA, or Song of the Blessed One, interpreted by FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Coy. 1925.

Here we have yet another version of what Prof. Edgerton correctly calls in his Preface " the favourite sacred book of the Hindus as a whole." The Gandhi Movement has induced Prof. Edgerton, as a competent Sanskrit scholar, to give to his countrymen an account of " what the Gita's words mean to a professional Indologist." He has another object also in producing this book: " There are in this country [United States of America] at present a number of religious sects of recent origin, which derive many of their doctrines from Hinduism. Some of these sects revere the Bhagavad Gîtâ almost or quite as much as do the Hindus themselves." In his book, therefore, Prof. Edgerton has "tried to let the Gîtâ speak for itself as far as practicable," and in a footnote he tells us : " All quotations in this book have been translated by me, except in one case, where credit is given to the translater quoted."

Obviously in such a book everything depends on the translations from the original and I have accordingly compared them with those of another competent translator, Dr. Lionel Barnett, 1906. I will here give a specimen on a very abstract subject of the first importance—the Nature of God (Edgerton, p. 44). Edgerton translates the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, XV, 16, 17 thus : " There are two souls here in the world, a perishable and an imperishable. The perishable is all beings. The imperishable is called the Uniform. But there is another, a Supreme Soul, called the Highest Spirit the Eternal Lord who enters into the three worlds, and supports them." Barnett here translates (pp. 156, 157): " Two males there are in the world a Perishable and an Imperishable. The Perishable is all born beings ; the Imperishshable is called the One set on high. And there is another and highest Male, called the Supreme Self, the changeless Sovran who enters and supports the threefold world."

The term here translated by two separate competent Sanskritists respectively a ' soul ' and ' male ' is *purusha*, and in a footnote Edgerton explains : "The word used is *purusha*, which elsewhere means strictly ' soul ' and is not applied to the body or material nature. Yet here the ' perishable soul ' can obviously mean nothing but *prakriti*, material nature. This is an example of the loose language which not infrequently confuses the expression of the Gîtâ's thoughts, and reminds us that we are reading a mystic poem, not a logical treatise on metaphysics." We are reading indeed popular metaphysics, the most confused description of thought in existence, and Prof. Edgerton has evidently felt the difficulty of the " perishable soul " of all beings as a doctrine, but Dr. Barnett gets out of it by translating *purusha* as " male." As a matter of fact, we see in this passage the great difficulty in getting at the thoughts of philosophical Hinduism—correct translation. Both Edgerton and Barnett evidently realise it, but one wonders if the teachers of the numerous sects in the United States, deriving their doctrines from Hinduism, equally realise it.

The above quotations clearly refer to the Hindu (*dvaita*) doctrine of dualism, and as to that Prof. Edgerton (p 44) quotes the *Gîtâ*, XIII, 1, 2 : " This body is called the Field : him who knows it, those who know the truth call the Field-Knower. Know that I am the Field-Knower in all Fields." Here Barnett (p. 147) translates : " The Lord spake ; ' this body is high and the Dwelling : the Knower of it is called the Dwelling-Knower by them that have knowledge thereof. Know that the Dwelling-Knower am I in all Dwellings." Here again it is a question of correct translation.

However Prof. Edgerton's is a very good book and I do not intend to quarrel with it. I merely wish to draw attention to the intense difficulty of translating such a work as the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, though it is not so difficult to get at a correct sense of its meaning.

Prof. Edgerton has felt also the difficulty that the American sects must have in pronouncing Sanskrit words in their transliterated forms and

gives a short note to help them. No doubt he knows his own people, but I cannot say that his explanation would help me, were I a novice. He says that "some English-speaking people give it [short *a*] the sound of English *a* in man" when speaking Sanskrit words. I wonder if such realise how much they would puzzle an Indian. But the Professor is right in his statement. I have heard a highly educated English Museum official pronounce to another, as though it were the obviously correct pronunciation, the term Bodhisattva as if it were the English expression "Body sat." In fact one may expect anything from a European or an American when speaking Indian words.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BEGAM SAMRU, by BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI, with a Foreword by JADUNATH SARKAR, 1925: Calcutta Mr. C. Sarkar & Co.

Begam Samru's career on the North Indian political stage, during the last half of the 18th Century was one that was only possible in the anarchical conditions in India at that time. The daughter of a broken-down Muslim noble, turned out of her home near Meerut in childhood by her step-brother, wandering in Delhi with her mother in very low circumstances, she became, in the height of her beauty, the wife of the German military adventurer William Reinhardt, alias Sombre or Samru, who had won a *jâgîr* from Shâh 'Âlam II of Delhi in the Gangetic Doab from Aligarh to Mozaffarnagar, and had settled at Sardhana in the centre of it.

Begam Samru showed that she was a woman of parts from the beginning, and at her husband's death succeeded to his *jâgîr* and the command of his troops, as it were naturally, at about 28 years of age in 1778. In 1781 she was baptised as Joanna by Father Gregorio, a Roman Catholic priest. She proved a good military leader and had several well-known European adventurers in her service, including for a time, George Thomas, afterwards the well-known Râja of Hansi. She then did some wonderful things, at one time, saving the feeble Delhi Emperor from Ghulâm Qâdir, and at another from Najaf Quli Khân. She thus became a prominent figure in Delhi politics. But in 1790 she did a very foolish thing; for as a woman of 40, who should have known better, she married one of her officers, a Frenchman named Levassoult, who was entirely unfitted to help her to govern her little State, and this affair very nearly put an end to her career, as it did to that of her husband. It did bring her to grief for a time, as she was in consequence for nearly a year the prisoner of her step-son, Zafaryâb Khân alias Louis Balthazar Reinhardt, and was disgracefully treated by him. From this dangerous position, which only a woman of her calibre could have supported, she was saved by her former servant, George Thomas, and soon afterwards Zafaryâb Khân died.

Begam Samru had always been a friend of the English, but Lord Wellesley so mismanaged his relations with her that she very nearly broke with the English, being saved from that disaster just in time by his successor, Lord Cornwallis. He installed her as life ruler under British suzerainty of the Principality of Sardhana, as her estate had now become in 1805, after the defeat of Mahâdjî Sindhia, who had been *de facto* ruler of the possessions of Shâh 'Âlam II.

The Begam then dropped out of general politics; though she lived 31 years longer to 86 years of age, spending her time in improving and in managing with great skill her principality, and in amassing enormous wealth. Having no children, she adopted as her heir, David Ochterlony Dyce, son of one of her officers, Col. G. A. Dyce. This gentleman became afterwards known to history as Dyce Sombre. On her death the Sardhana Principality lapsed to the British Government. Thereafter there ensued trouble over the property.

The adoption of Dyce Sombre was quite in order according to Indian ideas. Zâfaryâb Khân who had been baptised into the Roman Catholic Church, as above noticed, married Juliana (Bahu Begam), daughter of Captain Lefevre, and had an only daughter, Julia Anne, who married Colonel G. A. Dyce, a Scotchman in the Begam's service. Their son was David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre. They had also two daughters; Anne Mary, who married Captain Rose Troup, Bengal Artillery, and Georgiana, who married Paul Solaroli, Marquis of Briona, both with handsome dowries. The bulk of Begam Samru's fortune went to Dyce Sombre, who proceeded to Europe and England to his undoing. In 1838 two years after his mother's death, he married in England, the Hon. Mary Anne Jervis, daughter of the second Viscount St. Vincent. They did not agree, and poor Dyce Sombre was eventually locked up as a lunatic, but escaped, and fought for his property. In the end, however, it went to his wife, who after his death married the third Lord Forester. So the final end of the immense property accumulated by the once penniless daughter of an Indian noble went to the daughter of an English peer as her sole right. Romance could hardly go further.

Begam Samru was wise, generous, extraordinarily open-minded and charitable. She gave her money alike to Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians and to Musalmans and Hindus, leaving behind a name blessed by many a poor Indian. Her story has been more or less well-known ever since she died, but now, owing to the patient research of Mr. Banerji, we have an authentic version culled from original sources.

R. C. TEMPLE.

DEVA RAYA II.

BY S. SRIKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

(*Śaka dates from inscriptions are used for the sake of greater accuracy.*)

THE greatest Emperor of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, Dêva Râya II, was the son of Vijaya Râya and Nârâyaṇî Dêvi.[1] Vijaya is mentioned in inscriptions as Vijayadeva Râya, Vîra Vijaya, and Vîra Vijaya Bukka (or Bukka III). He was a staunch disciple of the hereditary Gurus of the first dynasty, the Kriyâśaktis. A grant of his, dated S. 1332 Vikriti, tells us that he founded in Hulinâḍu a village called Kriyâśaktipura, near Daṇḍapalli, in memory of Kâsi Vilâsa Kriyâśakti.[2] This is attested by a seal of Triyambaka Kriyâśakti. Vijaya's inscriptions begin as early as Śaka 1331 Virôdhi, three years after the accession of Dêva Râya I. Nuniz tells us that "Visa Rao . . . . lived six years; he left a son Deo Rao who reigned twenty-five years." Since Dêva Râya II died in 1368 Kshaya[3], he must have ascended the throne in 1342. From 1336 to 1342—a space of six years—Vijaya Râya seems to have been the ruler. Whether he was only the Vicegerent of the Emperor at Muḷuvâyil, or himself Emperor, we do not know; but in support of the latter supposition it may be noted that Dêva Râya is mentioned in inscriptions as having got the reins of power from his father (*pitryâm siṁhâsanam prâpya*).[4]

Dêva Râya had numerous titles, some handed down from his forbears, others which he assumed. Chief among them are,—*Paramêśvara, Vîrapratâpa, Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara, Bâsagê tappuva Râyara Gaṇḍa, Mûru Râyara Gaṇḍa, Ashṭadigrâya Manôbhayankara, Gajavênṭegâra, Apratima birudânka*, etc. Much confusion has been caused by the fact that Deva Râya's son Mallikârjuna is also known as Immaḍi Dêva Râya. To make confusion worse confounded, the brother of Dêva Râya II is also termed Pratâpa Dêva Râya. Thus Immaḍi Dêva Râya had once been assigned a long reign of forty-three years. Pratâpa Dêva Râya, the younger brother of Dêva Râya II,[5] had a wife Siṁhaḷa Dêvi, who bore him Virûpâksha II, the successor of Mallikârjuna. This Pratâpa was also known as Vijaya.[6]

Dêva Râya had the good fortune to possess some of the greatest ministers that would have adorned any court. To mention some of them, Timmaṇṇa Oḍeya (1336), Chandrapparasa Oḍeya (1336), Aṇṇappa Oḍeya (1358), Nagaṇṇa Oḍeya (1347), Perumâḷa Daṇḍa Nâyaka (1351), Baichappa Oḍeya (1329), Auchappa (1347), Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍa Nâyaka, Madaṇṇa Daṇḍa Nâyaka, Saṅkara Dêva (1338), Narasiṁha Oḍeya (1347), Singaṇṇa Oḍeya (1358), Ballâḷa Dêva (1369), Śrigiri Bhupâla in Marataka Râjya[6] (1346-8), Panṭamailâra (1351),[7] Vallabha Dêva (1368). Kanara district was under Chandrappa Daṇḍa Nâyaka from 1354 to 1384, Mangaḷûra under Aṇṇappa Oḍeya in 1358, Gumma-Reḍḍipâlya under Doḍḍa Vasanta Nâyaka in 1358. Mâdappa Daṇḍa Nâyaka and Ballâḷa Dêva were at Tiruppattur, in 1368, Tanjore was governed by Vallabha Râya. Terkal Nâdu, first under the rule of Lakkaṇṇa and Mâdaṇṇa, was handed over to the representative of the new family that was already coming to the front—Sâḷva Gopa Tippa. Talakâḍ from A.D. 1428 to 1440 was under Lakkaṇṇa, and then it was ruled by Rayaṇṇa and Perumaḷ Daṇḍa Nâyaka. Barakûr in 1338 was ruled by Saṅkara Dêva, in 1347 by Narasiṁha Daṇḍa Nâyaka, in 1353 by Chandra Râya, in 1372 by Râyarasa, and in 1380 by Guruvappa Daṇḍa Nâtha.

Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍa Nâyaka was perhaps the greatest of Dêva Râya's ministers. He belonged to the Vishṇu Vardhaṇa Gôtra and was the son of Heggaḍe Dêva and Bommâyamma.[8] His brother was Madaṇṇa Daṇḍa Nâyaka. In A.D. 1430-33, he was ruling at Muḷuvâyil Nâḍu. In A.D. 1434 he was asked to hand over the viceroyalty of Têrkal Nâḍu

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[1] *Mysore Arch. Rep.*, 1923, p. 91.

[2] *Madras Epigraphist's Report* of 1912-13, C. P. grant No. 6.

[3] Śr. Bel, 328 (125) *Epi. Car.*, vol. II.

[4] Tm. 11. *Epi. Car.* vol. XII.

[5] *Mysore Arch. Rep.*, 1921, para. 62.

[6] *Epi Ind.*, p. 307.

[7] *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 1051.

[8] *Mb.*, 2, 96, *Epi. Car.*, vol. X.

to Sâḷva Gopa-Tippa.[9] Sâḷva Gopa continued to hold the viceroyalty from A.D. 1453 to 1468. Lakkaṇṇa makes a grant for the merit of a brother in Śaka 1360.[10] In 1358, Madaṇṇa was at Tiruppatûr. Lakkaṇṇa was a staunch Vira Śaiva and is recognised as one of the *viraktas* (renounced) of the sect. He is the author of the Kannada work *Śivatatwa Chintâmaṇi*, each verse of which ends with the words *vimala charaṇâmbujakkê śaraṇu*.[11] Therein he styles himself,

ಧರೆಗಧಿಕ ಮೂರುರಾಯರ ಗಂಡನ ಪ್ರತಿಮ ।
ಬಿರುದಾಂಕ ಗಜವೇಂಟೆಕಾರ ದೇವೇಂದ್ರಭೂ ।
ವರನಮಹ ದೈಶ್ವರ್ಯ ಶರಧಿ ಚಂದ್ರೋದಯನುದಾರ ಕರುಣಾಧಾರನು ॥
ನಿರುಪಮಿತ ಸಪ್ತಾಂಗ ರಾಜ್ಯ ವರ್ಧನಕಳಾ ।
ಧರನಮಲ ಕೀರ್ತಿಯುತ ಲಕ್ಕಣ್ಣ ದಂಡೇಶ ।
ನೀಕಲಿಯುಗ ದೊಳತಿ ಪ್ರೌಢಮತಿ ದೇವರಾಜೇಂದ್ರನ ಮಹಾಪ್ರಧಾನಂ ॥
ಇಭವೇಂಟೆಕಾರ ದೇವೇಂದ್ರನುನ್ನತ ಕೆಳೆಯನು ॥

The work treats of Vîra Śaiva hagiology and theology. The style is mellifluous, and the narrative excellent. Judging from the covert allusions in the works of other Vîra Śaiva writers[12] to the effect that a lakh of money was spent by him on the work, it is reasonable to suppose that he received considerable assistance in his pious undertaking from some other poets whom he patronised.

Lakkaṇṇa justly styles himself "the increaser of the wealth of Dêva Râya, and *saptâṅga râjya vardhana kaḷâdhara* and *unnata keḷeya* (intimate friend) of Dêva Râya." We know from other sources that he conquered Ceylon and Gulbarga. Nuniz says that the kings of Quiloa, Ceylon and Pegu paid tribute to Dêva Râya. Abdu'r-Razzâk writes "At the time the writer was at Kalikot (A.D. 1442 June) . . . . The Daṇaik had gone to Ceylon, ... when he returned, he made more than usual preparations to celebrate the festival of Mahânavami."[13] Inscriptions of Śaka 1362 and 1366 give him the title of *dakshiṇa samudrâdhipati* (lord of the southern ocean).

"About this time the Daṇaik or minister departed on an expedition to the kingdom of Gulbarga, the reason of which was that the Gulbarga Sultan, Alaudin Ahmad Shah, learning of the attempt to assassinate Dêva Râya, ... was exceedingly rejoiced and sent a message—'Pay me 7,00,000 *varâhas* or I will send a world-subduing army into your country and extirpate idolatry.

It is interesting to note that Firishta, as might be expected, gives a false and distorted account of the expedition. Firishta not only lived much later, but also was a prejudiced writer. He says that Dêva Râya wantonly made an unprovoked attack on Muslim territory and marched as far as Sagar and Bijapur before his progress could be checked. He also speaks of three pitched battles, in which the eldest son of Dêva Râya was killed. At the close of the war Dêva Râya engaged to pay the stipulated tribute, provided his territories were not harassed. He also paid arrears of tribute besides making an offer of forty elephants. Alaudin then "honoured the Rai with a handsome dress and presented him with several horses, covered with rich furniture and set with jewels." Since a contemporary, also a Muslim, gives quite a different account, it is impossible to believe Firishta.

This expedition to Gulbarga is also referred to in the *Bakhar* of the Gumma Reḍḍi Pâḷyam chiefs.[14] It says that the country was harassed by the Muslim army of Gulbarga and a panic ensued. The Paḷayagar of Gummareḍḍipura and Pemmasâni Singappa Nâyaka promptly massed their forces and marched to the help of their liege-lord Dêva Râya. The army marched to Gulbarga and laid siege to the city. During the siege, four thousand men perished on either side. The Imperial army was exhausted. Then the Paḷayagar Doḍḍa Vasanta Râya went to the Emperor and said "It appears that the forces of the Empire are in need of rest. Please give permission for the Paḷayapaṭ army to show its strength." Dêva

[9] Mr. 1 ; Mr. 3 ; *Epi. Car.*, vol. X. [10] *Madras Epi. Report*, 141 of 1903.

[11] R. Narasimhâchâr's *Karṇâṭaka Kavi Charitre*, vol. II—Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanâtha.

[12] *Karṇâṭaka Kavi Charitre*, vol. II—Gubbi Mallaṇârya. [13] Payne's *Scenes from Indian History*, p. 68.

[14] *Gummanâyakana Pâlaya Pâlaygârs*, by M. S. Puṭṭaṇṇa, Mysore University Extension lectures, 1925-6.

Râya gladly consented. The siege was renewed with greater vigour. The Sultan grew desperate and, seizing a sword, rushed into the thick of the fight. Doḍḍa Vasanta Nâyaka ordered that none should meet the Sultan but himself, and seizing a sword went to fight with the Sultan. In the duel that followed the Sultan's sword broke in two, and Doḍḍa Vasanta Nâyaka gallantly threw down his sword also. Then the combatants wrestled with one another, till at last the Sultan was crushed and died vomiting blood.

Abdu'r-Razzâk also testifies to the victory of the Vijayanagar forces. "The king's Danaik, after ravaging the territory of Gulbarga, returned bringing some wretched people away with him as captives." This conquest of Gulbarga may be dated A.D. 1443. Evidently this victory increased the power of Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍa Nâyaka more than ever, and he was given the privilege of issuing coins in his own name, containing the letter *la* on the reverse and *kha ma ṇa Daṇâyakaru* on the obverse.[15]

To sum up, Lakkaṇṇa was not only a great administrator, but also a great conqueror. In the midst of his constant political activities, he found leisure to patronise art and religion by his own personal example. Not only was he a great author, but he was also a great Vîra Śaiva *virakta*.[16] His devotion to his master and to his religion stand forth clearly, marking him as a great historical figure.

Another great minister of Dêva Râya was Châmarasa or Châmayâmâtya.[17] He was also a devout Vîra Śaiva poet and scholar, who came into prominence at Court by the aid of Jakkaṇṇa Daṇḍa Nâtha. Jakkaṇṇa is mentioned in an inscription of Hari Hara II as early as 1308. By the time of Dêva Râya II he must have been rather old. The tradition goes that Jakkaṇṇa, after making Châmarasa the prime minister, abandoned politics for religion. This Châmarasa was evidently the patron of Siddaṇṇa Mantri, who in turn patronised the Telugu poet Jakkaṇṇa, who wrote *Vikramarka Charitramu.*

దేవరాయ మహారాయ ధీవిధేయ ।
మంత్రివల్లభ చామనామాత్యదత్త ।
చామరఛత్ర భూషాదిసకలభాగ్య ।
చిహ్నములనొప్పె జన్నయసిద్దమంత్రి ॥

Châmarasa had the titles *Vîra Śaiva Sârôdhâra, Anyamattha Kolâhala* etc. He was one of the hundred and one *viraktas* who adorned the Court of Dêva Râya. He was the author of the great Vîra Śaiva work *Prabhulingalîlê*, which was translated into Telugu and Tamil. He defeated in linguistic disputations both the Vaishṇava Âchârya Mukunda Peddi and the Smârtha poet Kumâra Vyâsa.

Jakkaṇṇa was another notable minister. A staunch Vîra Śaiva devotee, he was the disciple of Mahâliṅga Dêva and Kumâra Banka Nâtha. Mahâliṅga Dêva wrote *Êkôttara śatasthaḷa* and *Prabhudêvara śatasthaḷa jnâna châritrâ*, the latter work evidently so called after the name of the Emperor. Both were composed at the request of Jakkaṇṇa, who had the title "Bhakti Bhanḍâri". Jakkaṇṇa himself wrote his *Nûrondusthaḷa* evidently on the model of the works of his Guru.

The Telugu author Jakkayya tells us that Siddha Mantri and his father Janna Mantri were ministers under Dêva Râya II. As one Siddhappa Daṇṇâyaka is mentioned as ruling in Bârakûru in Saka 1380 in the reign of Mallikârjuna, it is reasonable to suppose that his father was minister under Dêva Râya II, while the son may have also been minister under Immaḍi Dêva Râya Mallikârjuna. This tallies with the fact of Chamayâmâtya giving the insignia of office to Siddha Mantri.

Guru Râya Mahâpradhâni, the patron of Chandra Kavi, was another minister. He was of Atrêyasagôtra and the son of Arasâmâtya. He had the titles *Nûtana Bhôja Râja, Râya*

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15 *I.A.*, 1891.

16 Prauḍha Dêvara Kâvya—*Karṇâṭâka Kavi Charite*, vol. II, Adriśya Kavi.

17 *Karṇâṭaka Kavi Charite*, vol. II, Châmarasa.

Bhandâri, Nârâyaṇa Birudânka. Perhaps he is the individual mentioned under the name of Guruvappa in 1380 Bahudhânya as ruling at Bârakûr.

Panṭa Mailâra, who claims to be Dêva Râya's lieutenant, has his inscriptions dated in Śaka 1351, Kîlaka.[18] He was the cousin of Śûra Nṛipati and had the significant titles *Dharaṇî-varâha, Ghanṭânâda, Chauhatta Malla*, which are distinctively Sâḷva titles.

Vallabhâmâtya was the ruler of Vinukoṇḍa, who not only patronised Śrînâtha but also wrote in Telugu his *Krîḍâbhirâmamu.* He ruled over Môpuru in Muliki Nâḍu. It was through his assistance that Śrînâtha was able to enter the imperial court.

Irugappa Daṇḍanâtha, the revered minister of Bukka II and Hari Hara II, seems to have been still living, as in A.D. 1422 he made a grant at Śravaṇa Belgola to the great Jaina scholar Paṇḍitârya Śruta Muni.[19]

Dêva Râya served his apprenticeship as Viceroy of Muḷuvây or Muḷbâgal.[20] He seems to have had definite leanings towards Vîra Śaivism. All the kings of the first dynasty were the hereditary disciples of the Kriyâśaktis, the exponents of the Tantric Śaivism of Kashmir. Sâḷva Tippa, the brother-in-law of Dêva Râya II, is spoken of as "*Kamsâri padâmbuja râja haṁsah.*"[21] while Vishṇu in the form of Râma came to be definitely worshipped during the time of Virû-pâksha II, who was converted to the worship of Râma by Vaishṇava saints. Dêva Râya in an inscription of 1340 Viḷambi, is spoken of as "*Vira Śaivâgama sâra sampanna,*" (learned in the *Âgama* texts of Vîra Śaivas).[22] The vast Vîra Śaiva literature which grew up in this and later reigns, speaks of a hundred and one *viraktas* who were a hundred and one Gaṇadharas of Śiva, born on the earth. Moreover Karasthaḷa Vîraṇṇa, one of the saints, is described as the son-in-law of Dêva Râya.

Of the three prominent sects of the period, there was little antagonism between Jainism and Vîra Śaivism, while Vaishṇavism was always at loggerheads with the other two. Dêva Râya, like the great Mughal, took intense delight in watching disputes between the rival theo-logians, and if any sect presumed to dominate the others, he promptly snubbed it. He dealt out justice fairly equally, and would not brook any breach of the peace. The Vaishṇava teacher Kandâḷa Peddayâchârya expounded the *Mahâbhârata* and *Râmâyaṇa* for nine months and took the works eighteen times in procession. Jakkaṇṇa, the Vîra Śaiva saint, wrote his *Nûrondusthala* and took the book in procession at night, surrounded by the hundred and one *viraktas.* Thereupon ensued a contest in which Châmarasa, aided by Jakkaṇṇa, was successful and was rewarded with the post of minister to Dêva Râya.

Dêva Râya later in the reign became more eclectic. Not only is he supposed to be the author of *Mahâ Nâṭaka Sudhânidhi*, treating of the story of the *Râmâyaṇa*, but we know that his wife Annalâ Dêvî and he together built the exquisite Hazâra Râma Temple in honour of Śrî Râma. His Jaina minister, Irugappadaṇḍanâtha, patronised Jaina scholars, while the fact that an epigraph at Śravaṇa Belgola bewails his death is a proof of his good will towards Jainas also.[23]

Dêva Râya was supposed to be Indra himself, the ruler of the Gods, born on earth. Gangâdâsa terms him "विजयनगरीपुरंदर"[24] and Lakkaṇṇa calls him "Dêvêndra". The *Channa Basava Purâṇa* plainly asserts that Indra was born as Prauḍha Dêva Râya. Dêva Râya's wealth was far-famed, and struck Abd'ur-Razzâk as marvellous. Nuniz also affirms that Dêva Râya was immensely rich and "gained eight hundred and fifty millions of gold besides precious stones. The kings of Coullão, Ceyllão, Paleacate, Peguu and Tanaçary paid tribute to him." In fact Vijayanagar was at the zenith of its prosperity during this king's reign.

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[18] *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 1051.

[19] Śr. Bel. 253 (82), *Epi. Car.*, vol. II.

[20] Bp. 15, *Epi. Car.*, vol. X.

[21] Cd. 29, *Epi. Car.*, vol. XI.

[22] *Mysore Archæological Report*, 92 of 1923, p. 91.

[23] Śr. Bel. 328 (125), *Epi. Car.*, vol. II.

[24] S. Krishṇaswâmi Aiyangar's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*—Gangâdasâ's Pratâpa Viḷasam.

Justice was impartially administered. An inscription of Saka 1349, Plavanga,[25] says that the king's officers unjustly collected *kâṇikkai*, *araśuppêru*, *karaṇakkarjôḍi*, and *viśeshâdâyam*. The ryots in consequence deserted the village. Cultivation ceased and the worship in the temple was at an end. The king promptly held an inquiry and issued a declaration of toleration and restitution. That there was also an attempt at social reform during the reign is evident from an inscription of Saka 1347, Visvâvasu,[26] when all the Brâhmaṇas of Paḍaivîḍu Râjya—Kannaḍigas, Tamiḷas, Telugas and Ilâṭas, of all *gôtras*, *sûtras* and *śâkhas*, met before the God and settled the sacred law that they should conclude marriage by *kanyâdâna* and not after receiving gold. The penalty for breach of the rule was first excommunication and afterwards punishment by the king. If this decision had been rigidly enforced, it would have done away with an evil blight on the social life of to-day.

The whole Empire was divided into provinces, each under a Daṇḍa Nâyaka whose term of office at a particular place seems to have been eight years, after which he was transferred to another province. This was a wise and prudent policy—the violation of which by Virûpâksha II proved disastrous to the first dynasty. In A.D. 1434 Lakkaṇṇa was forced to give away Terkal Nâḍu. To take Barakûr as an instance. In 1338 Śaṅkara dêva was its governor; in 1347, Narasiṁha Daṇḍanâtha; in 1353, Chandra Râja. In 1361 Râyarasa was at Terkal, and in 1372 at Barakûr. Thus the governors were constantly transferred from place to place, so that no individual could prove too powerful for the Central Government and successfully usurp power, like Sâḷva Narasiṁha.

Abdu'r-Razzâk says that the king possessed an army of eleven lakhs. Dêva Râya had many elephants which he hunted and captured himself, thus acquiring the titles of "Gaja Vêṇṭekâra" and "Gaja Gaṇḍa Bhêruṇḍa"[27]. He was aware of the defect of the Hindu armies, which were unwieldy, and did not hesitate to borrow from his enemies means of improving them. He encouraged Arab merchants to bring good horses by way of Honâwar. Abdu'r-Razzâk says that Dêva Râya paid handsomely and encouraged the trade. An inscription also testifies to the fact that Dêva Râya possessed a cavalry force of "ten thousand Turkish horses in service." For the accommodation of his Muslim soldiers, he seems to have erected the mosque at Hampi.

There were three hundred ports in the Empire which extended from Gulbarga to Cape Comorin, Ceylon and Pegu.[28] The very fact that Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍa Nâyaka was a great naval commander shows that there must have been a powerful fleet in existence. In A.D. 1419 Dêva Râya is styled only the "Paśchima Samudrâdhipati". In A.D. 1420-24 Lakkaṇṇa is called "the Lord of the Southern Ocean."[29] In 1442–43 Ceylon was conquered; Pegu and the Eastern Archipelago also came under his sway. Dêva Râya got his precious stones from Quilon, Ceylon and Pulicat. His collection of pearls is also extolled by Śrinâtha.

The conquest of Golconda and Ceylon has already been referred to. During Dêva Râya's time, the Telugu kingdom of the Reḍḍis who ruled at Râjamandri, passed into his hands about the year A.D. 1443. Koṇḍavîḍu had been under a branch of the Reḍḍi family—Pedda Kômaṭi being the last ruler. His son Râchavêma was of dissolute character and was promptly murdered. In Saka 1377, Yuva, we find an inscription of Gaṇa Dêva Râhutta Râya whose capital was Koṇḍavîḍu.[30] Gaṇa Dêva claims to be of the same lineage as Kapileśvara Gajapati. It is probable that after the murder of Râchavêma the Gajapatis ruled at Koṇḍavîḍu under the suzerainty of Dêva Râya. Allâḍa Reḍḍi of the Râjamandri branch claims alliance with the Gajapati and Karṇâṭa king in the wars with Pedda Kômaṭi.[31]

[25] *Madras Epi. Report*, 376 of 1913; *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 149.

[26] *S.I.I.*, vol. I, p. 84; *Madras Arch. Rep.* 49 of 1887.

[27] *I. A.*, 1891.

[28] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 307.

[29] *Mysore Arch. Report* of 1923, p. 91. *Madras Epigraphist's Report*, 141 of 1903, 100 of 1911.

[30] *I. A.*, 1891.

[31] Vîrêśalingam's *Andhra Kavula Charitra*, vol. I—Śrînâtha.

ಜಿತ್ವಾನಲ್ಪವಿಕಲ್ಪ ಕಲ್ಪಿತಬಲಂ ತಂಚಾಲ್ಪಭಾನುಂ ರಣೇ ।
ಮಿತ್ರೀಕೃತ್ಯ ಸಮಾಗತಂ ಗಜಪತಿಂ ಕರ್ಣಾಟ ಭೂಪಂಚತಂ ।
ಹತ್ವಾಕೋಮಟಿವೇಮ ಸೈನ್ಯನಿಕರಂ ಭೂಯೋಪಿ ರಾಮೇಶ್ವರಾದ್ ।
ರಾಜ್ಯಂ ರಾಜಮಹೇಂದ್ರ ರಾಜ್ಯಮಕರೋ ದಲ್ಲಾಡ ಭೂಮೀಶ್ವರಃ ॥

As soon as the powerful hand of Dêva Râya was removed by death, the Bahmanî Sultan and Kapilêśvar Gajapati attacked the city of Vijayanagar, as testified by Gangâdâsa. Mallikârjuna sallied from the fort walls and chased the enemy out of the country.

Dêva Râya came to the throne as a child; for Abdu'r-Razzâk speaks of him as "exceedingly young" when he visited him in A.D. 1443.[32] He gives this graphic description of the great sovereign: "The king was seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall and a great crowd of Brahmins and others stood on the right and left of him. He was clothed in a robe of Zaitun, Satin, and he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate. He was of an olive colour, of a spare body and rather tall. He was exceedingly young; for there was only some slight down on his cheek and none on his chin. His whole appearance was very prepossessing." Again he says that the Râya possessed very excellent qualities indeed.

Abdu'r-Razzâk in A.D. 1442 speaks of a treacherous plot to murder the Emperor. The king's younger brother had constructed a new house and invited the king and nobles to a banquet. Many of the nobles were killed, but the king by his own prowess and good fortune escaped. The treacherous brother was slain by the furious populace. We know only of two brothers of Dêva Râya,—Pratâpa Dêva, called also Vijaya, and Śrîgiri Bhûpâla, who was viceroy at Maratakanagara, identified with Virinchipuram by Mr. Venkayya. Pratâpa Dêva was also at Maratakanagara after his younger brother from Śaka 1346 to 1368 Kshaya. Since Pratâpa Dêva lived on to Śaka 1370 Vibhava, it is not possible to identify him with the younger brother of Dêva Râya who, Abdu'r-Razzâk asserts, was killed by the populace in A.D. 1442. Therefore the expression in the Śrî Śailam plates "निजाग्रजा प्राप्त धनाद्रि रज्य:" must be interpreted to mean the elder sister of Dêva Râya, who is referred to in C.D. 29.[33]

तस्याग्रजाया हरिमांगनाया ।
प्राणेश्वरः साळुवतिप्प राजः ।
कंसारि पादांबुज राज हंसः ॥

This is dated Śôbhakrit, Kârtik B. 10, Sômavâra, (Monday, November 9, A.D. 1422). The growth of Sâḷva power is very significant. To provide a place for his nephew, Dêva Râya ordered Lakkaṇṇa and Mâdanna to hand over Terkal Nâḍu.[34]

Abdu'r-Razzâk speaks of the following coins as current in the realm.[35] Gold coins:(1) Varâha, (2) Pratâpa (half varâha), (3) Paṇam ($\frac{1}{10}$ pratâpa); Silver—Târ ($\frac{1}{6}$ paṇam); Copper—Jital ($\frac{1}{3}$ târ). The obverse on most of the coins has a god and goddess seated like those on the coins of Hari Hara, sometimes with the attributes of Vishṇu, at others of Śiva. Of the gold coins, there are double pagodas, pagodas, half-pagodas and quarter-pagodas. Certain other coins bear on the obverse the figure of an elephant with the legend "*Raja Gaja Gaṇḍa Bhêruṇḍa*," commemorative of the elephant hunts in which Dêva Râya took delight.

His silver coins are perhaps the earliest of the dynasty. They have an elephant on the obverse and on the reverse a sword, and to the right the legend देव राय.[36] Copper coins of his are numerous. They usually contain on the obverse, in addition to the usual elephant, the letter दे and in one case "La" which, coupled with the legend on the reverse, formed the well-known name of Dêva Râya's minister Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍa Nâyaka. Some coins have the figure of Nandi—a proof of Dêva Râya's Śaiva inclinations, others have Vaishṇava symbols, and on

[32] Payne's *Scenes from Indian History*, p. 66.
[33] Cd. 29, *Epi. Car.*, vol. XI.
[34] Mb. 2, 96, *Epi. Car.*, vol. X.
[35] *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. IV, p. 109.
[36] I.A., 1896, p. 318.

one coin Nandi is represented with the Vaishṇava symbols—*śankha* and *chakra* on either side—at proof of the king's eclecticism. One coin has the figure of Nandi and the legend *Nîlakanṭha*.[37]

This period was one of great literary activity. Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannaḍa scholars of every sect—Vaishṇavas, Smârtas, Vîra-Śaivas and Jains, produced a vast literature, secular as well as religious. Among them we may mention Lakkaṇṇa, Jakkaṇṇa, Bhâskara, Dharaṇoja, Mahâliṅga, Kumâra Bankanâtha and Śrinâtha. It is probable that *Mahânâṭaka Sudhânidhi* is not the work of Dêva Râya II, but of his son Immadi Dêva Râya Mallikârjuna, who was a great scholar. Nuniz says that Pina Rao "was a great scholar and made many books . . . . He was a very wise man." In Kannaḍa there is a work by one Kaḷḷarasa called *Jana Vaśya*, which treats of erotics.[38] There the author says "ಧಾತ್ರೀಶ ದೇವನೃಪ ಪುತ್ರ ಮೂರುರಾಯರಗಂಡ, ವೈರಿನೃಪ ಗಜಗಂಡ ಭೇರುಂಡ ನಾದಯುದು ಪಂಶವನಧಿವಿಧು." "Mallikârjuna, the son of Dêva Nripa, first wrote the work on erotics in Sanskrit, addressed to his wife; Kaḷḷarasa translated it into Kannaḍa with the king's permission, and gave it another title "*Mallikârjuna Vijaya*" or "*Madana Tilaka*." There is a work in Sanskrit on erotics called *Rati Ratna Pradîpika*, the colophon of which runs as follows! "*Iti Śri Rája Paramêśvara Prauḍha Dêva Râya Virachitâyâm Rati Ratna Pradîpikâyâm*."[39] The authorship, I venture to state, has been erroneously attributed to a Mysore sovereign. I think the author was Mallikârjuna himself, whose book was translated into Kannaḍa by his court poet Kaḷḷarasa. Whether this Kaḷḷarasa is identical with Kallinâtha (A.D. 1453), who was the court-musician of Immaḍi Dêva and wrote a monumental commentary on the *Sangîta-Ratnâkara* of Sâranga Dêva, it is difficult to say.

We have already referred to the dispute between Mukunda Peddi and Châmarasa. Literary history presents us with two more illustrations of such a contest. Śrînâtha completed his *Śivarâtri Mâhâtmyamu* about the year 1420, and went on a pilgrimage to Śrî Śailam. Thence he went to the Karnâṭa country with the help of Vinukonḍa Vallabha Râya. In spite of this help Śrinâtha was not received graciously at Court, where the poet-laureate Ḍinḍima zealously excluded every dangerous rival. Śrînâtha, a pleasure-loving man, to whom the good things of the world mattered much, describes his wretched condition and besought "Kannaḍa Râjya Lakshmi" to take pity on him.

కుల్లాయుంచితిఁ గోకసుట్టితి మహాకూర్పాసమున్ దొడ్గితిన్ |
వెల్లుల్లిన్ దిలపిష్టమున్ మెసవితిన్ విశ్వస్థ వడ్డింప గాన్ |
జల్లాయంబలి ద్రావితిన్ రుచులదో సంబంచు బోనాడితిన్ |
దల్లీ కన్నడరాజ్యలక్ష్మి దయలేదా నేను శ్రీనాథుడన్ |

Aruṇagirinâtha Ḍinḍima was no mean scholar. He is the author of *Yogânanda Prahasana*, a commentary on Śaṅkara's *Saundarya Lahari*, and of *Vibhâga Ratna Mâla*.[40] In *Sômavallî Prahasana* he calls himself *Śrî Dinḍima Kavi-Sârva-Bhauma iti prathita birudânka nâmadhêyah Sarasvatî prasâda labdha Kavitâsanâthah Srîmân Aruṇagiri Nâthah têna kritêna yogânanda nâmnâ prahasanêna, Sabhâ niyôgamanutishṭhâmi*. He was a native of Mullandram, which was granted to him and several others, after changing its name to Prauḍhadêvarâyapuram, after the king. Dinḍima had also the titles *Abhinava Bhavabhûti, Ashṭabhâshâparamêśvara, Chera-Chola-Pandya Prathamârâdhya*, and *Kavi Malla Galla Tâḍana paṭu*—probably referring to the author of *Udâra Râghava* or to the Kannaḍa poet of the same name, who calls himself a Lakshaṇa Kavi, disciple of Puttaṇânka Panḍita, and wrote *Madana Tilaka* in Kannaḍa. The Kannaḍa poet Chandra Kavi, who wrote "*Virûpâksha Sthâna*" at the Court of Dêva Râya, also calls himself, like Dinḍima, *Ashṭa bhâshâkavitâ Pravîṇa* (proficient in writing poetry in eight languages).

37 *I.A.*, 1891.

38 *Karṇâṭaka Kavi Charitre*, vol. II—Kaḷḷarasa.

39 *Rati Ratna Pradîpika*. (Mysore Oriental Library Edition for Private Circulation).

40 *I.A.*, 1918, p. 97.

Śrînâtha, however, was fortunate in securing the favour of the royal guru Chandra Bhûshaṇa Krîyâ Śakti, and challenged Aruṇagiri to put up a fight for his title of *Kavi sârva bhauma*. In the contest that ensued Śrînâtha was declared the winner.

దీనారటంకాల దీర్ఘమాడించితి దక్షిణాధీశు ముత్యాలశాల ।
బగులకొట్టించి తుద్భటవివాదప్రౌఢి గౌడ డింఢిమ భట్టు కంచుఢక్క ।
చంద్రశేఖర క్రియాశక్తి రాయలయొద్ద పాదుకొల్పితి సార్వభౌమబిరుద ॥

Thenceforth Śrînâtha proudly styles himself *Kavi sârva bhauma*.[41] It was after this victory that Dêva Râya bathed him in gold in his pearl-hall.

కర్ణాటక్షితి నాథమౌక్తిక సభాగారాం తరాకల్పిత ।
స్వర్ణస్నాన జగత్ప్రసిద్ధ కవిరాట్ ।

This is also referred to by the brother-in-law of Śrînâtha, Duggapalli Duggayya, " *Kavi Sârva Bhaumuḍu Karnâṭa Vîbhuchêta Kanakâbhishêkamulu ganina Śrînâtha.*

The third contest was between Kumâra Vyâsa and Châmarasa.[42] Both of them wrote their *Mahâbhâratas*, but Kumâra Vyâsa's work was considered inferior. Thereupon he told his wife who was Châmarasa's sister, that unless Châmarasa's work was destroyed, he would commit suicide. His wife stole the rival work and burnt it. Châmarasa consoled himself by writing about immortal people in his *Prabhuliṅgalîlê*. The king, who had determined to have Kumâra Vyâsa bathed in gold, changed his mind and took Châmarasa's work *Prabhuliṅgalîlê* in procession on the state-elephant, and became a disciple of Châmarasa.

I give below a list of Poets who flourished under the patronage of Dêva Râya :—

(1) Mahâliṅga Dêva, (2) Lakkaṇṇa, (3) Jakkaṇṇa, (4) Kumâra Bankanâtha, (5) Châmarasa, (6) Kallumaṭhada Prabhu Dêva, (7) Śrîgirîndra, (8) Karasthaḷa Nâgi Dêva, (9) Maggeya Mâyi Dêva, (10) Gurubâsava, (11) Battaḷêśvara, (12) Chandra Kavi, (13) Irugappa, (14) Bhâskara, (15) Dharaṇôja, (16) Kalyâṇakîrti, (17) Jinadêvaṇṇa, (18) Kavimalla, (19) Kumâra Vyâsa, (20) Paranjyôti Yati, (21) Sarvajñâ Siṅgama, (22) Śrînâtha, (23) Vallabha Râya, (24) Gauranna, (25) Bammera Potanna, (26) Kolachâla Mallinâtha Sûri, (27) Peddabhaṭṭa, (28) Kallinâtha, (29) Nâganâtha, (30) Viśvêśvara Kavi, (31) Aruṇagirinâtha Gauḍa Dinḍima Bhaṭṭa, (32) Niśśanka Kommaṅṅa, (33) Sâḷva Gopa Tippa, (34) Nêmichandra Prachanḍa Târkika Ratna " who conquered the pride of scholars in Dêva Râya's court and secured a certificate of victory."

Of the architecture of the time—blending together Châḷukyan and Eastern elements—the Hazâra Râma temple and Pârśvanâtha Chaityâlaya in *Pânsupâri* street,[43] of the year Śaka 1348, Parâbhava, are the outstanding monuments. Of the irrigation works of his reign we have an inscription at Dâvaṇagere,[44] dated A.D. 1424, which states that Daṇḍa Nâyaka Baḷḷappa dammed the Haridrâ and constructed a net work of canals. The poet considers the work of Baḷḷappa greater than that of Bhagîratha's bringing of the Ganges. Everywhere the red water of the *nâḷas* was like the *tilaka* of the Earth Goddess.

At least two of Dêva Râya's girl children are referred to in Kannaḍa literary tradition. Vîra Śaiva tradition tells us that Karasthala Vîraṇṇa was the son-in-law of Dêva Râya. Similarly, Liṅga Mantri, a Kannaḍa author patronised by the Râyôdaya of Nuggêhalli (1530), tells us that the father of his patron was the son-in-law of Pratâpa Dêva Râya and was named Tirumala Râya.[45]

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41 Vîrêsalingam's *Andhra Kavula Charitra*, vol. I—Srinâtha.

42 *Karṇâṭaka Kavi Charitre*, vol. II—Kumâra Vyâsa.

43 *S.I.I.*, vol., I, p. 160.

44 Dg. 29, *Epi. Car*, vol. XI.

45 *Karṇâṭaka Kavi Charitre*, vol. II—Linga Mantri (1530).

An epigraph at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa thus refers to the death of Dêva Râya.[46]

Kshayâhvayê kuvatsarê dvitayayukta Vaisâkhakê |
Mahîtamaya Vârakêyuta Valaksha pakshê tarê ||
Pratâpa nidhi Dêva Râṭ praḷaya mâ pahantâsamô |
Chaturdaśa dinê katham pitṛ patê dhi Vâryâgatih ||

Writing in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1896, Dr. Kielhorn takes it to have occurred in the dark half, and says that the fourteenth *tithi* ended fourteen hours and fifty-seven minutes after mean sunrise on Tuesday. But it must have been on the fourth week day, and not on the third. Taking the bright half of the month,

(*Swamikannupillai's Tables.*)

New Moon *tithi Vaiśâkha*		(3) April 26.08
14 *tithis*		(14) ,, 13.78
		(17) April 39.86
First New Moon in Solar year	.4016	
Vaiśâkha 14th	13.78	
	14.1816	
Sun's equation for anomaly of	14.1816	= +.16
Anomaly of first New Moon in Solar year	10.729	
Vaiśâkha 14	13.78	
	24.51	
	.16	
	24.67	
Moon's Anomaly for equation of ..	24.67	= +.24
		+.16
		+.40

(17) April 39.86
.4

(17) April 40.26 *i.e.*, 3rd week day (Tuesday) May 10th, 6 hours and fifteen minutes after mean sunrise.

Since Śaka 1368 (expired), Kshaya[47], is the date of the grant of Mallikârjuna prohibiting extortion from the poor ryots of the Idangai and Valangai sects at the coronation of each emperor, we must perforce conclude that it is Dêva Râya II who is referred to in the Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscription, and not his younger brother, whose "setting" is referred to in an inscription of Śaka 1370 (Sorab 18).[48]

Thus ended Dêva Râya's reign. It is not characterised by great spectacular effects ; but he laid the firm foundation of a policy of toleration and of suppression of overweening feudal vassals—a policy, the violation of which brought disaster. Literature flourished ; the seas were conquered : commerce furthered ; the enemy in the north and north-east was thoroughly beaten ; toleration was extended to every community irrespective of caste, creed and nationality ; oppression and nepotism, torture and extortion were firmly suppressed ; social reform was given an impetus ; local autonomy was safe-guarded in such a way as not to encroach on the central power ; centrifugal and centripetal tendencies were balanced to a nicety. In short peace and prosperity were assured. These are the achievements of a prince who deserves a high place among the rulers of India.

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46 Śr. Bel. 328 (125), *Epi. Car.*, vol. II.
47 *Mad. Epi. Rep.*, 23 of 1905 ; Inscriptions of Madras Presidency, vol. I, p. 212.
48 Sorab 18, *Epi. Car.*, XII, pt. II.

BUDDHIST WOMEN.

BY DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

(*Continued from page* 68.)

Mallikâ was the daughter of a Brâhman steward of the Śâkya Mahânâman. On her father's death she was taken by Mahânâman to his house. She was at first named Chandrâ. She made a wreath which satisfied Mahânâman so much that he changed her name to Mallikâ. One day Mallikâ went to the garden with her food, and just then the Blessed One passed them collecting alms. Mallikâ thought of offering her food to the Buddha, and the latter knowing her thought held out his bowl. She put her offering in it and wished at the same time that some day she might be free from slavery or poverty. One day Pasenadi carried away by his horse in the heat of the chase came to Mahânâman's garden. There he saw Mallikâ. Requested by the king, Mallikâ rubbed his feet with a towel. As soon as she did so the king fell asleep. When he awoke he found out who she was, went to Mahânâman and married her. She was then taken to Śrâvastî and in time she brought forth a son named Virûdhaka (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 75–77), and also a daughter. (*S.N.*, I, p. 86). This story is nothing but a Tibetan version of the story of Pasenadi and Vâsabhakhattiyâ. *Cf.* *Svapnavâsabhadattâ* of Bhâṣa.

Again we read that Mallikâdevî went to the Buddha and asked him thus, "What is the cause of a woman's getting an ugly appearance, bad habit, wretched state and poverty in this world ? What is the cause of a woman who is of this nature becoming very rich and influential ? What is the cause of a woman who is of good appearance and lovely becoming poor and uninfluential, and *vice versa* ?" The Buddha answered thus : "The woman who is very hot-tempered and who gets angry for slight reason becomes poor and ugly if she does not offer any charity to the Samaṇas or Brâhmaṇas, but if she offers charity to the Samaṇas or Brâhmaṇas, she becomes rich and influential although she is hot-tempered." The Buddha further said "She who is not hot-tempered and does not become angry for slight reason becomes poor and influential if she does not offer any charity to the Samaṇas or Brâhmaṇas." Mallikâ admitted that on account of her hot temper and peevish nature she had an ugly appearance, but she, on account of her previous charities, became a queen. She further said that she would treat properly the daughter of the Kṣatriyas, the Brâhmaṇas and the other householders who were subordinate to her. She became a devotee of the Buddha, being very pleased with him. (*Aṅguttara Nikâya*, 11, pp. 202–205). It is noteworthy that once Mallikâ was asked by Pasenadi whether she had anybody dearer to her than her own soul. She replied in the negative. Pasenadi was asked the same question by his wife, and he too answered it in the negative. She then went to the Buddha and related the matter to him. The Buddha said that they were right in holding that there was nothing more favourite than one's own soul. (*Udâna*, p. 47 ; *cf.* also *S.N.*, 1, p. 75.) Once Pasenadi invited Buddha to teach Dhamma to queens Mallikâ and Vâsabhakhattiyâ as they were desirous of learning it. Buddha asked the king to engage Ânanda for the purpose as it was not possible for him to go every day. Mallikâdevî learnt it thoroughly, but Vâsabhakhattiyâ was not so mindful of learning Dhamma. (*D.C.*, 1, 382). It was Mallikâ who saved the life of many living beings who were brought for sacrifice to save Pasenadi from the evil effect of hearing four horrible sounds at midnight by inducing him to go to the Buddha to take instructions from him. (*D.C.* vol. 11, pp. 7–8). After her death, Mallikâdevî had to suffer in the Avîci hell because she deceived her husband by telling a lie about her misconduct. (*D.C.*, 111, 119 f.).

Mallikâdevî made the following arrangements on the occasion of Pasenadi's offering a unique gift to the Buddha and the *bhikkhus* :

1. She made a canopy with Sâla wooden parts, under which five hundred *bhikkhus* could sit within the parts and five hundred outside them.

2. Five hundred white umbrellas were raised by five hundred elephants standing at the back of five hundred *bhikkhus*.

3. Golden boats were placed in the middle of the pandal, and each Khattiya daughter threw scents standing in the midst of the two *bhikkhus*.

4. Each Khattiya princess fanned standing in the midst of two *bhikkhus*.

5. Golden boats were filled with scents and perfumes. (*D. C.*, III., pp. 184 f.)

The daughter of queen Mallikâ was also named Mallikâ. She was the wife of General Bandhula. She was childless for a long time. Bandhula sent her to her father's house. On the way she went to the Jetavana to salute the Buddha who was informed by her that her husband was sending her home as she was childless. The Buddha asked her to go to her husband's house. Bandhula was informed of this fact and thought that the Buddha must have got the idea that she would be pregnant. The sign of pregnancy was visible in her, and she desired to drink water and bathe in the well-guarded tank of the Licchavis. Bandhula with his wife visited the tank and he made his wife bathe and drink water therefrom. (*D.C.*, I, pp. 349–351.) Mallikâ, wife of Bandhula, and daughter of a Malla king of Kuśînârâ, offered worship to the relic of the Buddha with plenty of perfumes and garlands and also an ornament named *mahâlatâ* which was very valuable. In consequence of this, she, after death, was reborn in the Tâvatiṁsa heaven where she was bedecked all in yellow. (*Vimânavatthu Commy.*, 165.)

Vajirâ was a *bhikkunî* who was tempted by Mâra when she went to Andhavana to meditate. Mâra came to her and asked her, "Who has created the being? Wherefrom it has come, and where will it go?" She said, "The aggregation of five *khandhas* constitutes the *sattas*." Mâra then left her. (*Saṁyutta Nikâya*, I, pp. 134–135.)

Cirâ bhikkhunî was given a robe by an *upâsika* of the Buddha. This message was declared by a Yakkha in the streets of Râjagaha saying that the giver by giving a robe to Cirâ who was free from fetters, could acquire much merit. (*Saṁyutta Nikâya*, I. p. 213.)

Uttarâ and her husband were serving a banker at Râjagaha. Once the banker went to attend a famous ceremony, and Uttarâ with her husband was at home. The husband of Uttarâ went to cultivate in the morning. Uttarâ was going with cooked food to her husband in the field. On the way she met Sâriputta, who was just rising up from *nirodha-samâpatti* (meditation on cessation) and offered the food to him, with the result that she became the richest lady of Râjagaha, and her husband became a banker named Mahâdhanaseṭṭhi. (*D.C.*, III, pp. 302 f.)

Puṇṇâ was the maid-servant of a banker of Sâvatthî. Once she was asked to husk a large quantity of paddy. While engaged in husking the paddy at night, she went outside the house to take rest. At this time Dabba, a Mallian, was in charge of making arrangements for the sleeping accommodation of the *bhikkhus* who were guests. Puṇṇâ with some cakes went out to enquire of the cause of their movements with lights at night. The Buddha went out for alms by the way in which Puṇṇâ was. She offered all the cakes to the Buddha without keeping any for herself. The Buddha accepted them. Puṇṇâ was thinking whether Buddha would partake of her food. The Buddha did partake of it in her house. The effect of this offer was that Puṇṇâ obtained *sotâpattiphalaṁ* where the offer was made. (*D.C.*, III, pp. 321 f.)

Rohiṇî was Anuruddha's sister. She was suffering from white leprosy. She did not go to her brother as she was suffering. Anuruddha sent for her and asked her to build a rest-house for *bhikkhus* to get rid of her sin. She kept the rest-house clean even when it was under construction, and she did this with great devotion for a long time. She became free from her disease. Shortly afterwards the Buddha went to Kapilavatthu and sent for Rohiṇî. The Buddha told her that she was the queen of the king of Benares in her former birth. The king was enamoured of the beauty of a dancing girl. The queen knowing this, became jealous of her, and to punish her she put something in her cloth and bathing water which produced terrible itching all over her body. On account of this sin, she got this disease. She obtained *sotâpattiphalâṁ* and the colour of her body became golden. (*D.C.*, III, pp. 295 f.)

Suppavâsâ, a daughter of a Koliyan was pregnant for seven years, but she did not give birth to any child. After seven years, labour pain began and she suffered terribly for seven days, but no child was born. She requested her husband to go to the Buddha and to salute him on her behalf, reporting the matter to him. Her husband went to the Buddha and informed him. The Buddha desired that Suppavâsâ would give birth to a son without any pain and disease. While the Buddha was expressing this desire, a son was born. Her husband was sent again to invite the Buddha to her house for seven days. The Buddha accepted the invitation. The Master took his meal there for seven days and converted both of them (*Udâna*, pp. 15–17 ; Cf. *D.C.*, IV, 192–193). Suppavâsâ used to give alms daily to five hundred *bhikkhus*. (*Dhammapada Commy.*, I, 339.) She became the foremost of the *upâsikâs*, offering the best food to the Buddha. Buddha told her the good effect of offering food, and he further said that an offerer by offering rice offers the lease of life, beauty, happiness and strength. The offerer in return obtains celestial life, celestial beauty, happiness and strength. (*Aṅguttara Nikâya*, II, pp. 62–63).

Another *bhikkhuṇî* of some repute was *Nakulamâtâ*. When her husband was ill and was ready to die, free from anxiety, she told him that she knew spinning and weaving and management of household affairs and children. She also told her husband that she would never remarry after his death, as both of them lived the life of a recluse for sixteen years. She informed her husband that after his death she would meet the Buddha and the *bhikkhusaṁgha*. She also promised to observe the precepts. She also told her husband that she was one of the female devotees who fully observed the precepts, controlled the mind, had strong faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgha, and who became fearless and did not depend on others except the Buddha for support. (*A.N.*, III, 295 f.)

Bojjhâ was a devotee who approached the Buddha, who preached to her the reward of observing the precepts and the Sabbath. The Master said to her, " Happiness obtained by observing Sabbath is sixteen times greater than that enjoyed by the sixteen countries." (*A.N.*, IV, pp. 259–260.)

Velukaṇṭaki Nandamâtâ was a devotee of the Buddha. She gave offerings to Sâriputta and Moggallâna. Referring to this the Buddha said, " A giver must be pleased before he gives *dâna*; his mind must be pleased while giving *dâna* and after giving *dâna*. The receiver of the offering must be free from passion, hatred and delusion. The consequence of such a gift is immeasurable". Nandamâtâ gave such a gift to Sâriputta and Moggallâna, and she obtained immeasurable consequence of the gift. (*A.N.*, III, 336–337.) There was another *bhikkhuṇî* named Nandamâtâ who was once repeating the Pârâyaṇa Sutta of the Sutta Nipâta in a sweet voice. King Vessavana was going from north to south, and he waited there till Nandamâtâ finished her repetition and praised her much. Nandamâtâ told Vessavana that the merit acquired by the act would be beneficial to him. Vessavana gladly assented and said that the merit which would be acquired by her through the gift made to Sâriputta and Moggallâna would prove beneficial to him. (*A.N.*, IV, p. 63 f.)

Migasâlâ was an *upâsikâ* who went to Ânanda and said, " According to the instruction of the Buddha, a *brahmacârî* and an *abrahmacârî* go to the same place after death and enjoy the same amount of happiness." Ananda went to the Buddha to have this problem solved. The Buddha said that the lay devotee was ignorant and uneducated and therefore she could not realize it properly. The Buddha further said, " Even a householder may acquire the same amount of merit as acquired by a *brahmacârî* who does not fulfil his duties properly." (*A.N.*, III, 347 f.)

Dinnâ, a *bhikkhunî*, was asked by her husband about *sakkâyadiṭṭhi*, *sakkâyanirodha*, *ariyâṭṭhaṅgikamaggo*, *saṁkhâra*, *nirodhasamâpatti*, manner of rising up from *nirodhasamâpatti* and *vedanâ*. Dhammadinâ gave satisfactory answers to all the questions. She said, " Five *upâdâna khandhas* constitute *sakkâyadiṭṭhi*. *Tanhâ* means *sakkâya samudayo*. Destruction of *tanhâ* means *sakkâya nirodha*. The noble eight-fold path is

the means of attaining *sakkâyanirodha*. Ignorant people take the five *upâdâna khandhas* jointly and separately as *attâ* (soul) ; the learned and noble disciples do not take them in this sense. Those who obtain *nirodha samâpatti* are stopped one after another. The three kinds of *vedanâ* are *sukha, dukkha* and *adukkhamasukha* (*M.N.*, I., 299 f.)

There was an *upâsikâ* named *Suyâtâ* who destroyed three bonds and obtained the first stage of sanctification. (*S.N.*, V, p. 356.)

Nandâ, sister of the king of Kośala, was a *bhikkhuṇî*. While going through the sky at night she instructed Kâlâśoka and *bhikkhusaṁgha* to purify *bhikkhusaṁgha* by driving out bad *bhikkhus* and protecting good *bhikkhus* (*Sâsanavaṁsa*, p. 6).

There was another woman named *Nandâ* who was the wife of a householder named Nandasena who lived in a certain village near Sâvatthî. She had no faith in the Buddha. She was very hot-tempered and used to abuse her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law. On her death she became a *petî*. One day she appeared before her husband and gave him an account of her past misdeeds. The husband made gifts for her sake to the *bhikkhus*, and Nandâ was released from her miseries. (*P.D. on the Petavathu*, pp. 89–92.)

Revatî was the daughter of a householder of Benares. She had no faith in the Buddha, and was very uncharitable. For some days she was forced by her parents to do meritorious deeds in order to win Nandiya, a neighbour's son, as her husband. After marriage, Nandiya made her follow him in his meritorious deeds. Thereafter Nandiya had to go abroad. He asked his wife to continue all the meritorious deeds. Revatî did so for seven days. Then she stopped all meritorious deeds and began to abuse the *bhikkhus* who had come to her house for alms. Nandiya, on his return, found that all his acts of charity had been discontinued. After death Revatî became a hellish creature. On his death Nandiya became a *devata*. He saw with his divine eyes that Revatî had become a hellish creature. He then went to her and asked her to approve of the meritorious acts done by him. As soon as she did so, she became a *devatâ* and resided with Nandiya in heaven. (B.C. Law, *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, p. 79.)

Sâmâvati was the queen of king Udena of Kosambî. The harem containing Sâmâvatî with 500 female attendants was burnt while Udena was in the royal garden. The matter was referred to the Buddha, who said, " Each *upâsikâ* had gone according to her *kamma*, some have become *sotâpanna sakadâgami* and *anâgami* and so forth (*Udâna*, p. 79).

There was a maid-servant named *Biraṇî* engaged by Asoka Brâhmaṇa to give food daily to the *saṁgha* which was enough for eight *bhikkhus*. This she used to do with devotion, with the result that after her death she was born in *avimâna* in the sky. (*Mahâvaṁsa*, p. 214.)

Rûpanandâ was Buddha's step-sister. She thought that her eldest brother renounced the world and had become a Buddha. Her younger brother Nanda was a *bhikkhu* and Râhulakumâra had obtained ordination. Her husband too became a *bhikkhu* and her mother, Mahâpajâpatigotamî, became a *bhikkhuṇî*. She renounced the world thinking that so many of her relatives had renounced the world. She did not go before the Buddha as she was proud of her beauty, while the Buddha used to preach the impermanency and worthlessness of form. The other *bhikkhuṇis* and *bhikkhus* always used to praise the Buddha in her presence and tell her that all having different tastes became blessed by seeing the Buddha.

Nandâ thought of going to the Buddha with other *bhikkhuṇîs* but she would not show herself to the Buddha. Ânanda came to know that Nandâ had come with the *bhikkhunîs*. The Buddha desired to lower her pride in her beauty by showing the bad effect of it. By his miraculous power the Buddha created a most beautiful girl who was engaged in fanning the Buddha. Nandâ seeing her beauty found out that her own beauty was much inferior. The girl was seen gradually attaining youth, the state of a mother of a child and then old age and disease and death. Nandâ, seeing this, gave up her pride in her beauty and came to realize the impermanence of beauty. The Buddha, knowing the state of her mind, delivered a suitable sermon and she became an *arhat* after hearing it. (*D.C.*, III, pp. 113 f.)

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page* 45.)

D-III. Coins of Thîbò [Thibaw].

It used to be confidently asserted that Thibaw never had a coinage in his own name, but I have so far doubted the truth of this statement as to think it possible that he coined, or his officials coined for him, the *shwê-ngâmûzî*, already described under Mindôn Min, as it bears date the year of his accession B.E. 1240= 1878, and his sign the *tô:*.

Concurrently with this gold coin, which tradition has assigned to Mindôn Min, there was a copper and a brass coinage, bearing the *tô* : effigy and the date 1240. I think this should be attributed to Thibaw, unless it can be proved to be Mindôn's.

A copper coin of Thibaw is shown in fig. 35, Plate II. Obverse : a *tô* : and *tô* : *tazêktò* (royal stamp of the *tô* :). Reverse : a wreath, outside it *Yedanâbôn Nêbyîdò*, and inside it 1 *mû ṭ̄ôṅg* : *diṅgâ* : 8 *pôn tabôn* (coin to be used as an eighth part of 1 *mû*, A.D. 1878). The eighth of a *mû* is the fourth of a *pè*.

The brass coinage of Thibaw[49] is very interesting. I had two specimens, evidently struck from the dies used for the *tô* : copper coins just described. The Burmese imported their copper in sheets for coining ; and being unable to roll copper, which requires costly machinery capable of enduring great heat, they mixed zinc with the waste copper resulting from punching the sheets for minting, and then rolled it. The brass coinage resulting was forced into currency. Specimens used to be common showing zinc alloy in various quantities.

The copper coinage, both of Mindôn and Thibaw showed early signs of becoming rare, because of withdrawal from currency by the British Government in 1889. The effect of the withdrawal in Mandalay, as I saw for myself, was to drive them out of use in a week, though of course in the villages they were likely to pass for many a year later.

A general remark by Sir George Scott (Shwe Yoe, *The Burman*, 1882, vol. II, pp. 299–300) on Burmese coinage and its use in everyday life, will not be out of place here :— "Formerly the Burmese had no stamped coinage, and the silver and gold used, mixed in greater or less amount with alloy, which necessitated the calling in of an assayer for every transaction, was always dealt out by weight. Now, however, there are gold coins stamped with the lion and the peacock, silver and copper with the royal peacock, and lead with the hare . . . . Mandalay rupees, though the same size as those of the Indian Government, are not in favour in Rangoon. They only run to fourteen annas, so that you lose two annas on each. The gold coins are practically not in circulation at all. Englishmen buy them as curiosities in the bazaar and get cheated if they do not carefully ring every one. The smaller ones, struck from the same die as the silver two-anna bit, are principally used by the king to fill silver cups presented to distinguished visitors."

E. Coin.

Going back now to consider coins and tokens stamped to mark exchange value only, which form the links between lump currency and coin of the realm, it may be as well in this division of the subject to keep our minds clear as to the difference between tokens, coin and coin of the realm.

Section 230 of the *Indian Penal Code*, (Indian) Act XLV of 1860, is of much use in this respect, when read with Section 3 of the *Metal Tokens Act* (Indian) Act I of 1889. The *Indian Penal Code*, when speaking of offences relating to coin and government stamps, says, Sec. 230 :— " Coin is metal used for the time being as money, and stamped and issued by the authority of some State or Sovereign Power in order to be used. Coin stamped and issued by the authority of the Queen [Victoria], or by the authority of the Government of India, or of the Government of any Presidency, or of any Government in the Queen's Dominions, is the Queen's coin.

[49] There is a brass coinage (*sapèques en laiton*) current in the Upper Laos States. *Toung Pao*, vol. I, p. 51.

Illustrations: (*a*) cowries are not coin: (*b*) lumps of unstamped copper, though used as metal tokens, are not coin: (*c*) medals are not coin, inasmuch as they are not intended to be used as money: (*d*) the coin denominated as the Company's rupee is the Queen's coin." All this is to say: coin stamped and issued by the authority of the ruler of a country is coin of the realm he rules. Coin stamped and issued by the authority of other rulers is coin; all other metal used as money is a metal token.

These definitions apply to completely civilized states, and practically, though not altogether, to such countries as Upper Burma was before the annexation; and I here describe the two species of currency now to be discussed respectively as "tokens" and "coin," though both are strictly speaking tokens.

E.-I. Tokens.

In this category must be reckoned silver, copper and other discs made in the royal mint but never stamped. Either through carelessness or theft these discs got into circulation in large quantities, and owing to the habit, common in the East, and described *ante*, vol. XXVI, pp. 157 ff., of receiving any kind of token as currency, and also because of the knowledge that they were made at the royal mint, they were freely used as tokens of the full value of coin of the realm.[60] A specimen is shown in fig. 39, Plate II.

E.-II. Taungbànnî Coins.

As unquestioned coins that were acknowledged not to be coin of the realm, but still had a ready currency at about 75 per cent. of the royal mint currency, were the *taungbànnî* coins. They were in silver, copper and brass, and copied all the issues from the royal mint. I was never able to account satisfactorily for the minting of the *taungbànnî* currency. Everyone in Mandalay of any importance, or likely to know really, always for some reason denied all knowledge of its origin. I suspect that private persons, either for a consideration or with the connivance of the Mint-master, obtained a right to issue coins, or that downright illicit coining was common. Some Burmans called the *taungbànnî* currency *p'ònjî* or monk's money, and asserted that certain monasteries coined as of right. Among the monks who had the right to coin I understood were the Ñàn-û Sayâdò of the Môzaung Kyaungdaik (Monastery) near the Èngdòyâ Pagoda at Mandalay, and a Sayâdò whose title I have forgotten, but who had been tutor to King Thîbò.[50] Others said that the *taungbànnî* coins were issued by great personages.

A silver *taungbànnî* piece of one *mù* is shown in fig. 40, Plate II. It bears the legend on the true 1 *mû* piece and the date 1214=1852 A.D. Similarly the copper specimen shown on fig. 41, Plate II is a copy of the *tô:* copper coin, and bears date 1240=A.D. 1878. The brass *tàungbannî* coinage was common. All the specimens I saw were copies of the *tô:* copper coins, and all bore the date 1240.

E.-III. Irregular Tokens.

The next point for enquiry is the token whose appearance and apparent weight gives it an exchange value without further test. These I have already called irregular tokens,[51] and defined as lumps of metal made into certain forms and used as coins though never intended for that purpose. Crawfurd referred to something of the kind when he says that the king's treasure was in bars of gold reckoned at 238 Spanish dollars each.

E.-III (*a*). Shan Shell-Money.

First in this category comes the *chûlôn* (*k'ayûlôn*, round shell) or *chaubinbauk*, the well-known Shan Shell-money. See Plate II, fig. 16. Sir George Scott, writing to me in 1889, called the "shells" Siamese money, "still current among the Siamese and a large portion of the Lao [Shan] States." Ma Kin, a well-known female dealer in Mandalay, told

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[60] So probably also were Phayre's Plate III, figs. 5 to 10; see p. 38. Compare the Greek temple coinage. Poole, *Coins and Medals*, p. 12. Also the Roman *moneta castrenses*, and the coins issued *extra muros*: *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.

[51] See *ante*, vol. XXVI, pp. 156, 157 ff.

me that the Shan Shells came from Bawdwin (the Bortwang of Crawfurd's *Ava*, p. 444) near Nyaungywê in the Southern Shan States.

They are on the borderland between real tokens and lumps of metal marked for fineness, as their shape proves. They are not deliberately manufactured, but are the result of the natural efflorescence of silver under certain methods of extraction. They are necessarily as pure as *bô* silver and their weight was tested by handling, so they passed as tokens. In fig. 1, Plate I, and usually in specimens of *Shân bô*, efflorescence in this form is to be seen adhering to the silver from which it springs. Yule (*Ava*, p. 260) alludes to this: "The variety next to *bô* is *K'ayûbàt*,[52] so called from *k'ayû*, a shell and *pàt*, circle or winding, in consequence of the spiral lines of efflorescence on the surface." Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 31, expresses the same opinion and says that *k'ayûbàt* is "a silver cake with marks upon its surface, produced by the crystallization of the lead scoriæ in the process of refinement."

Owing to a mistake in Ridgeway's *Origin of Currency*, pp. 22, 29, in which he states that the Shân silver shells are about the size of a cowry and argues that they are survivals of the cowrie currency of Siam, etc., I may as well state clearly that true *chûlôn* are of all sizes, and I had one in my possession which was many times the size of a cowry shell. In 1888 about 500 specimens of *chûlôn* passed through my hands at Mandalay and I tried to "size" them and found that the size of any particular shell was purely accidental and an incident of construction, human intention having no concern in it.

E.-IV. Majîzî Knuckle-Bones.

Next to the Shân silver shells come the *majîzîs* or tamarind seeds in gold and silver. Burmese children, especially little girls, are very fond of a game of knuckle-bone, which consists in throwing a tamarind seed into the air with one hand and seeing how many more can be picked up by the same hand before it falls and is caught. The royal children used those made of gold and silver, and King Mindôn used significantly to impress upon the little princesses the importance of keeping those that he gave them against a rainy day. They were soon mostly melted down or sold after the British annexation and became exceedingly rare. They were tokens, owing to their weight and fineness being assumed, and when, as subsequently happened, the *majîzîs* assumed a uniform and conventional shape, size and fineness, we are brought to a point very near the true coin.

The figures 17, 18 and 19, Plate II, show the whole process. Fig. 17 is a dried tamarind seed: fig. 18 is its imitation in gold with little dotted circles in the centre of each face to represent the pit marks of a similar kind often seen in fresh tamarind seeds, and fig. 19 is the conventional silver *majîzî* in which the dotted ring has taken a fixed form with that of the represented seed itself. It was in this form that silver *majîzîs* were usually met with.

E.-V. Shân Silver Majîzî.

Tàn*ɔ*ông, or Shân (silver) *majîzî*, used as customary gifts, like the *chûlôn*, are still nearer to true coin, as they are conventionally stamped to show fineness. See fig. 20, Plate II. This particular form of *majîzî* had become rare in Burma by 1890.

Regarding such *majîzî* Mr. H. S. Guinness in his letter from the Shân State of Wuntho in 1894, already quoted, says:—"Sometime ago I weighed 18 silver *magyîzî* [*majîzî*], which I bought in Mandalay. The bazaar weight thereof varied between 59 and 66 grains per *magyîzî*: the average for the 18 being 61·92 grains. This made me think that *magyîzîs* were meant to run three to a *tolâ* or four to a tickal. If the former, the weight of a *magyîzî* should be 60 grains: if the latter, 64 grains."

E.-VI. Siamese Tickals.

Fig. 21, Plate II, shows a Siamese tickal, and the remarkable resemblance of this coin-token to the *majîzî* in its several developments will become apparent to the reader. Crawfurd

[52] But see *ante*, vol. XLVII, p. 41.

(*Siam*, p. 331), however, describes the tickal and its parts as nothing more than bits of silver bar bent and the ends beaten together, impressed with two or three small stamps.[53]

E.-VII. Ancient Tokens.

That lump currency in fixed forms, like the Shân silver shells, is very ancient in the East is shown by the following quotation from the *Jâtakas* (Buddhist Birth Stories), where golden bricks, ploughshares, elephant's feet, bricks and tortoises are mentioned. That it was continuously used amongst Far Eastern Nations there is much evidence from Chinese, Tongkingese, Annamese, Cambodian, Siamese, Shân and Malay sources, besides Burmese.[54] In the *Nidânakathâ*,[55] a Sinhalese composition in Pâli of the fifth century A.D. is an account of the land on which Anâthapiṇḍika built the famous Jêtavana Vihâra, referring to a lump currency in gold which existed in and before the writer's time:—"Long ago in the time of the Blessed Buddha Vipassin, a merchant named Punabbasu Mitta bought the very spot by laying golden bricks over it, and built a monastery there a league in length. And in the time of the Blessed Buddha Sikhin, a merchant named Sirivaḍḍha bought that very spot by standing golden ploughshares over it, and built there a monastery three quarters of a league in length. And in the time of the Blessed Buddha Vessabhû, a merchant named Sôtthiya bought that very spot by laying golden elephant feet along it, and built a monastery there half a league in length. And in the time of the Blessed Buddha Kakusandha, a merchant named Achchuta also bought that very spot by laying golden bricks over it, and built there a monastery a quarter of a league in length. And in the time of the Blessed Buddha Kôṇâgamana, a merchant named Ugga bought that very spot by laying golden tortoises over it, and built there a monastery half a league in length. And in the time of the Blessed Buddha Kassapa, a merchant named Sumaṅgala bought that very spot by laying golden bricks over it, and built there a monastery sixty acres in extent. And in the time of our Blessed One, Anâthapiṇḍika, the merchant, bought that very spot by laying *kahâpaṇas* over it, and built there a monastery thirty acres in extent. For that spot is a place which not one of all the Buddhas has deserted."

The writer of the above passage, in bringing in his own way the history of the Monastery down to these comparatively modern times, clearly indicates, by the expressions 'bricks', 'ploughshares', 'elephant feet', 'tortoises', ingots of certain shapes, current as weights in his own time, till he comes to the last payment, which he states in terms of a then recognised weight. The *kahâpaṇaṁ* Skr. *kârshâpaṇa* was, as a gold weight, equal to 16 *mâshâs* = about 176 grains.

Plate LVII of Cunningham's *Barhut Stupa*, 1879, contains a bas relief,[56] which represents Anâthapiṇḍike, making over to Sangha the park at Jetavana, which he had purchased by covering the ground with a layer of crores (*kôṭis*) of bricks. At p. 84 ff. there is an elaborate account of the story with many references. See Hultzsch, *Bharaut Inscriptions*, No. 38, *ante*, vol. XXI, pp. 226, 230.

Compare also Fausböll, *Jâtaka*, vol. I, p. 92, where the text runs: "*Anâthapiṇḍiko* . . . *Jetavanaṁ koṭisanthârena* (*aṭṭhara sahisañña koṭîhi*) *kiṇitva*." On comparing this statement with the inscriptions at the Stupa: "*Jetavana Anadhapeḍiko deti koṭi-saṁthatena ketâ*," we may reasonably conjecture that the very precise expression I have placed in brackets got into the story later than the date of the Bharaut sculptures, of the second or first century B.C.

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[53] For a remarkably good note on the *larin* or hook-money, closely allied to the tickal in principle, see Pyrard de Laval, Hak: Soc: Ed., vol. 1, pp. 232 ff. Good specimens of tickals are to be found in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Mint Collection, Nos. 887, 888, 902–905, 993. At p. 65 of the (old) Catalogue (before 1890), Nos. 1759 and 1760, there is a queer entry: "tickal or takel, Arakan." Sarat Chandra Das, *JASB.*, *Proc.* 1887, p. 148, says tickals were made in gold, silver and lead in the reign of "Somdetch Pra Charem Klow." See also Bowring, *Siam*, vol. I, pp. 257 ff.

[54] See "Obsolete Malay Tin Currency," *ante*, vol. XLII, p. 92 f.

[55] Rhys Davids, *Birth Stories*, p. 132 f.

[56] In Hutchinson's *History of the Nations*, there is a drawing (p. 124) in modern perspective, by Horace van Ruith, of this relief.

In translating and explaining this text Cunningham, Hultzsch and others have used expressions like 'crores of gold coins', but I take it that such are merely a loose way of expressing the currency of the period, which may be almost certainly taken to have been bullion in some special shape, as the *Nidâna* version seems to prove.

F. Forgeries.

Having described the Burmese coinage and currency itself, I pass on to other allied matters. Irrespective of the proceedings of Bôdòp'ayâ, the Burmese were great tamperers with their coinage, even though it was of such recent issue, and in this connection I gave a word of warning to collectors and those interested in numismatics as early as 1893. "Peacock" coins were even then already beginning to command a price far beyond their intrinsic value in Mandalay, and a factory of sham "peacocks" had sprung up, especially of the smaller values. I had been able to purchase one *mû* pieces purposely in the Zêjô (the great market at Mandalay, then known to Europeans as the King's Bazaar, though it was never anything of the kind) for more than their intrinsic market value, and I felt sure they were manufactured to sell as curios.

Of course, this is a very old story in India, and from all over Central Asia there have been many complaints from scientific enquirers that forgery has always been rampant. There is a good instance of the situation in a letter to the *Pioneer*, dated October 4, 1893, on the Gwalior Currency. The writer, obviously an expert, gives an excellent account of the currency in the Gwalior State at the time and in the course of his statement he writes: "All these [Gwalior State] rupees are old fashioned, thickish, roughly rounded pieces of silver, having a legend of the Emperors of Delhi and the date stamped on them. They are unsightly and cause a great deal of annoyance and loss, owing to the very great facility with which similar light and base coin can be, and to a great extent is, manufactured by ordinary goldsmiths: and also from the chips, which are at times stuck in them to make up their proper weight, getting loose and lost. In some cases as many as four or five in a hundred have been found to be base coin. Of all these coins, eight, four and two anna pieces are also current."

Forgery of coins of the common criminal type became a serious nuisance in Upper Burma before the native coinage was withdrawn. The crime was helped—one might almost say created—by the taking of Mandalay, when, in the first confusion, the royal mint dies passed into the hands of anyone who chose to take them. They were frequently and extensively used by British officers as paper weights during the war and I have bought them in the Zêjô. The result was that the criminally forged coins were admirably executed.

In China forging was skilful, even in the most ancient times, and has, indeed, had a distinct effect on the currency question in that country. Terrien de Lacouperie writes of it (*Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, 1892, pp. xxii-xxv) in strong terms:—"In the preliminary notices on the series of coins in the present volume we have had to relate repeatedly the evils resulting in the Chinese currency from the plague of counterfeiters; and until the present time the same doleful history has continued. An increase in the proportion of tin, the legal alloy, the substitution for it of lead, or tin pieces, which, when strung between genuine coins, might pass unperceived, were the various means resorted to by the forgers. The unusual skilfulness of the Chinese counterfeiters has been the insuperable obstacle to the issue of coins of gold or silver."

Forgery of coins has always been common everywhere in the East, largely facilitated by the imperfections of the authorised mints, and its punishment has been proportionately servere. Crawfurd, *Embassy to Siam and Cochin China*, 1828, p. 395, says that the punishment was usually death. "Murder is always punished with death, and the mode of execution is by decapitation with a sword. Forging the royal signet and counterfeiting the current coin, are also, by law, punishable with death; but in these cases, too, the punishment has of late been commonly commuted for imprisonment for life, and the heaviest infliction of the bamboo."

Elsewhere Crawfurd, p. 517, tells us that the punishment of death is inflicted for forging [zinc coin].

Nearly every traveller has complained of forgery and warned successors against it, but Anderson, *Mandalay to Momein*, 1876, p. 386, gives an interesting instance of forging sycee which must be a difficult operation : " Elias and I arrived [at Sawadi] while the payments were being made in lumps of sycee silver, one of which was declared by a *pawmine* (*pòmaing*, money-changer) to be bad, and, being bitten, proved to be hollow, and filled with sand.

The crime of forgery was not always committed by Asiastics upon Europeans, and at least one instance of a dastardly attempt on the part of Europeans to cheat unsophisticated Islanders is recorded in the *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, (1888, Hak. Soc., vol. II, pt. I, p. 159 made in the seventeenth century : " But in truth what did us much harm at the first, and took away much of the good repute of the French, English and Hollanders in this country [Maldive Islands] (for in the Indies we are all considered alike, seeing that we are all friends among ourselves and enemies of the Portuguese) was, that there was brought to Sunda, or islands of the South [Malay Archipelago], a quantity of false pieces of forty Spanish sols, which were made on board the ships. The Hollanders accused the English, and English cast the blame on the others : however, the fact was, the Hollanders paid dear for it, for the voyage after, a goodly number of them were killed at several places ; and since then the Indians have not trusted them so much, and the rumour has spread over the whole of India that we are all cheats."

G. Siamese Porcelain Tokens.

Although a large number of these interesting tokens have passed through my hands at times, since I presented specimens to the British Museum and other Institutions, I have not been able to ascertain much about them from literary sources. What I have unearthed I now publish, but these curious specimens of currency seem to me to be worth better exploration than has apparently been so far bestowed on them.

These porcelain tokens are really tokens issued by apparently authorised gambling houses and as they have a pecuniary value to the possessor, they are passed from hand to hand as negotiable money for their known value. Holt Hallett (*A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, 1890, p. 234) says of them :-" On our return [to Penyow, 130 m. from Zimmè] Jewan came to me with a long face, complaining that the people in the town had given him some pieces of pottery instead of change, and asked what he should do. On looking at them I found they were octagonal in shape, and stamped on one side with Chinese letters. After showing them to Dr. M'Gilvary, he said they were the ordinary gambling currency of the place and represented two-anna and four-anna pieces. It appears that the gambling monopolist has the right to float them, and they are in general use amongst the people as small change.[57] They remain current as long as the Chinese monopolist is solvent or has the monopoly. If he loses it, he calls the tokens in by sending a crier round, beating a gong and informing the people that he is ready to change the tokens for money. Dr. M'Gilvary said that such tokens formed the sole small change at Zimmè before the Bangkok copper currency supplanted them."

Bock (*Temples and Elephants*, 1884, p. 142) supports him by the following remark :—" In all parts of the country I found a number of porcelain coins of all shapes and sizes, bearing different Chinese characters and devices. These are issued by Chinamen holding monopolies, and are only current in their respective districts."

And this remark he follows up by another reference to them, (pp. 598-9) : " Of antiquities and curiosities [at the Siamese National Exhibition, Bangkok] there was a fine collection of weapons and arms from hill-tribes scattered throughout Siam and Lao, and an equally interesting show of the ancient coins, some flat and some spherical, solid bars of silver or gold with a stamp at one end, side by side with old paper currency, lead, crockery, and *porcelain tokens* and cowries."

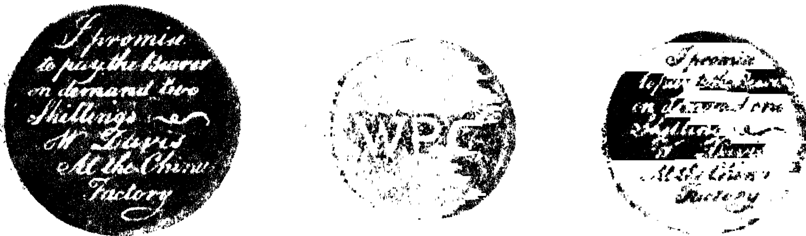
[57] For an account of the games played in Siam, see *ibid.*, p. 235.

To this Sir George Scott, in a letter to myself, dated March 11th, 1889, added :—" The porcelain money introduced by the Chinese as gambling counters were used in the Siamese Shan States [Lao] as actual money." And finally Parker, in a Sketch of Burmese History in the *North China Review*, 1893, p. 48, says, in identifying the Caraian of Marco Polo with Yunan :—" The money formed of porcelain such as is found in the sea " described by Marco Polo was, " according to the *Annals of Yung-ch'ang* in use until quite recently. Cowries are meant, and both cowries and real porcelain or *mug coins* are still used by the Laos."

On a personal enquiry from some Shâns as to some specimens that I showed them, they at once recognised them as tokens of currency and gave them names according to a denomination they recognised : *ngünmât* or *ngünbèmû*. These are names for real money of a low denomination.

My last quotation here is from *Siam*, where Bowring says (*Siam*, 1857, vol. I, p. 257) " Copper Coins are issued by individuals in the provinces ; and stamped *glass*, or *enamel*[58] bearing inscriptions is also used as a circulating medium."

A parallel to the Siamese porcelain gambling tokens is to be found in England at the famous Worcester China Works, where about 1760 china tokens in Worcester porcelain were given to the work people for wages. The Block-plate hereunder shows three of such tokens from Worcester :—



(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICE.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA, vol. XIX, Pt. I, January, 1927.

This number contains some important records· The first is a revised reading by Dr. Sten Konow of *The Zeda Inscription of the Year 11.* The learned scholar takes the opportunity to discuss afresh the long-disputed question of the initial date of the Kanishka era. He quotes the results of certain calculations made by Dr. W. E. Van Wijk, which seem to indicate that the 19th June 139 A.D. is the only date that fulfils the astronomical data of the Zeda record, and the 26th February 189 A.D. the only date that fulfills the conditions of the Und inscription. According to these findings the initial date of the Kanishka era would be 128–9 A.D. Such a date would explain the absence, so far as known, of any reference to Kanishka in Chinese historical literature, and thus fits in with the views of several authorities who have suggested a date subsequent to 125 A.D., when China was cut off from Eastern Turkistan.

The second is a reading by Mr. Hirânanda Śâstri of the Barah copper-plate of Bhojadeva discovered in 1925 in the Cawnpore district. Mr. Śâstri, for the reasons stated by him, reads the date of this record as Vikrama-saṁvat 893. This reading is not altogether free from doubt ; but if it be correct the plate contains the earliest record so far obtained of this great Pratihâra king, and carries his long reign back another four years, *i.e.*, to 836 A.D.

In the third article Dr. L. D. Barnett gives a careful edition of the text, with a translation in English, of the Mamdâpur inscription of the reign of Kanhara (Śaka 1172) containing useful genealogical and geographical information, from an ink-impression preserved in the British Museum.

C. E. A. W. O.

58 He clearly means by this the porcelain gambling tokens.

VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

(*Continued from page* 64.)

The fortress of the gods is, as Sâyaṇa (on TA. 1, 27, 114) explains, the **human body**; the nine doors are the nine apertures of the body, namely, the two ears, the two eyes, the two nostrils (or according to others, the nose and the *brahma-randhra*), the mouth, the *upastha* and *pâyu* : and the eight wheels are the eight *dhâtavaḥ* or 'elements' of the body—*tvac* (skin), *asṛj* (blood), *medas* (fat), *asthin* (bone), *majjan* (marrow), *śukra* (semen), *mâṃsa* (flesh), and *ojas*. The sheath of gold within it is the heart which is the abode of the *âtman* : compare TA. 10, 11, 2 : *padmakośá-pratîkâśaṅ hṛdáyaṃ câpyadhómukham | ádho nishṭyâ' vitastyânte nâbhyâ'm upari tíshṭhati || jvâlamâlâ'kulaṃ bhâti viśvásyâyatanáṃ mahat || . . . . tásmin sarváṃ prátishṭhitam . . . . tásya mádhye mahâ'n agníḥ . . . . tásya mádhye váhni-śikhâ . . . . tásyâḥ śikhâyâ' madhye parámâtmâ vyavásthitaḥ | sá bráhmâ sá háriḥ séndraḥ sókṣharaḥ paramáḥ svarâ'ṭ ||* "Like to a lotus-bud, the heart facing downwards, is (situated) one span below the neck (that is, below the top of the windpipe), and above the navel. This great abode of all (of the world) is shining, being full of rings of flames . . . . in it is established everything . . . . in its midst is a great fire . . . . in it is a flame . . . . in the midst of this flame is established the supreme âtman; he is Brahmâ, he Hari (Vishṇu), he Indra, he the imperishable supreme lord." Compare also Yogatattvopanishat, 1, 9 : *hṛdi sthâne sthitaṃ padmaṃ tac ca padmam adhomukham* ; Dhyânabindûpanishat, 12 : *ûrdhvanâlam adhomukham | kadalîpushpasaṃkâśaṃ sarvadevamayâmbujam ;* Ch. Up. 8, 1, 1 : *asmin brahmapure daharaṃ puṇḍarîkaṃ veśma* "In this abode of Brahman (*i.e.*, the body) is a small lotus chamber."

The epithets *tryara* and *tripratishṭhita* are not very clear. In Ch. Up. 8, 1, 3[39] we read that the *âkâśa* of the heart contains everything, heaven, earth, *agni*, *vâyu*, etc. The word *tryara* may therefore perhaps refer to the three worlds and all other similar triplicities as being contained in the heart ; compare Yogatattvopanishat, 1, 6 : *trayo lokâs trayo vedâs trayaḥ sandhyâs trayaḥ surâḥ | trayognayo guṇâs trîṇi sthitâḥ sarve trayâkshare*. The *trayâkshara* or *praṇava* is thus said to contain within itself the three worlds, the three Vedas, the three *sandhyâs*, etc.; and as the heart is, like the *praṇava*, a seat, *adhishṭhâna*, of the Supreme, these triplicities may all be regarded as being contained in the heart and as forming the *arâḥ* or spokes thereof referred to by the epithet *tryara*.

The epithet *tripratishṭhita* refers perhaps to the three states of the heart spoken of in Yogatattvopanishat, 1, 1 : *akâre śocitaṃ padmam ukâreṇaiva bhidyate | makâre labhate nâdam ardhamatrâ tu niścalâ* which seems to mean : "When *a* is pronounced, the lotus (of the heart) brightens (becomes ready to open ?) ; it opens when *u* is pronounced ; and begins to hum when *ma* is pronounced ; it is immobile when the *ardhamâtrâ* is pronounced." Now *a*, *u*, and *ma* are said (in the Mâṇḍûkyopanishat, Gauḍapâda-kârikâ, and elsewhere) to be the *pâdas* or feet of the *praṇava* which thus rests or is supported on them. Similarly, the heart when it brightens, the heart when it opens, and the heart when it is humming, may be considered the feet or supports of the heart.

The word *svarga* in the fourth *pâda* of v. 31 is usually interpreted as 'heavenly,' *svarga-tulya*, etc. There is however no necessity for abandoning the usual meaning of the word, namely, 'heaven'; for this word is often used to denote the supreme heaven or Brahmalôka where the Brahman dwells (compare Bṛhad. Up. 4, 4, 8 : *dhîrâ apiyanti brahmavidaḥ svargaṃ lokam* and Śaṅkara's comment : *svargaloka-śabdas trivishṭapa-vâcy api sann iha prakaraṇân mokshâbhidhâyakaḥ ;* Ch. Up. 8, 3, 2-3 : *imâḥ prajâ ahar-ahar gacchantya etaṃ brahmalokaṃ*

[39] *esho 'ntar-hṛdaya âkâśaḥ | ubhe asmin dyâvâpṛthivî antar eva samâhite | ubhâv agniś ca vâyuś ca sûryâcandramasâv ubhau ||*

na vindanti . . . . tasmâd dhṛdayam ahar-ahar vâ evaṃvit svargaṃ lokam eti and Śaṅkara's comment thereon). It is so used here also as is made quite clear by the reading of the parallel passage in TA. 1, 27, 3 : *tasyâñ hiraṇmayaḥ kośaḥ svargo loko jyotishâ vṛtaḥ.*

With regard to the word *ashtâcakrâ*, it has been observed by M. Boyer (*l.c.* p. 436) that Sâyaṇa has explained the word *cakra* in it as *âvaraṇa*, or circumvallation enclosing the body that is regarded as a fortress, in his commentary on TA. 1, 27, 3,[40] while in his commentary on AV. 11, 4, 22 he has explained the word as 'wheel' serving as the means for locomotion of the body that is here regarded as a chariot. This is because TA. 1, 27, 3 refers distinctly to a fort, *pûḥ*, while AV. 11, 4, 22 refers equally distinctly to a chariot (compare the words *ekanemi* 'having one rim' and *sahasrâkshara* which Sâyaṇa explains as 'having a thousand axles' used in it). The discrepancy therefore, if any, is to be attributed to the texts themselves and not to Sâyaṇa who had to explain them faithfully as they stood. But is there really a discrepancy here ? I am disposed to think that there is none ; the meanings 'circumvallation' and 'wheel' are not mutually exclusive, and in all probability they are both intended (see p. 230 in vol. LV, *ante*) by the word *cakra* in *ashṭâcakrâ* which would thus mean 'having eight circumvallations and eight wheels to move with' or 'having ramparts and moving.' In other words, the fort, *pûḥ*, spoken of in AV. 10, 2, 31, seems to be a mobile fort, *ja gamo durgaḥ* or *carishṇûḥ pûḥ*. Such a mobile fort is, besides the 'firm' forts, *dṛḍhâḥ puraḥ*, that are frequently mentioned, known to the RV. which refers to one in 8, 1, 28 : *tvaṃ puraṃ carishṇvaṃ vadhaiḥ śushṇasya saṃ piṇak* "Thou (O Indra), didst shatter with thy weapons the mobile fort of Śushṇa." Such forts are occasionally mentioned in later books also: compare Bhâgavata, 10, 76, 6f. :—

devâsura-manushyâṇâṃ gandharvoraga-rakshasâm |
abhedyaṃ kâmagaṃ vavre sa yânaṃ Vṛshṇi-bhîshaṇam ||
tatheti Giriśâdishṭo Mayaḥ para-purañjayaḥ |
puraṃ nirmâya Sâlvâya prâdât Saubham ayasmayam || ;

Mahâbhârata, 8, 25, 13f. [The three sons of Târakâsura said to Mahâdeva] :

vastum icchâma nagaraṃ kartuṃ kâmagamaṃ śubham |
sarvakâma-samṛddhârtham avadhyaṃ deva-dânavaiḥ || 13 ||
yaksha-rakshoraga-gaṇair nânâ-jâtibhir eva ca |
na kṛtyâbhir na śastraiś ca na śâpair brahma-vedinâm ||
vadhyeta tripuraṃ deva prayaccheḥ prapitâmaha || 14 ||

. . . .

te tu labdha-varâḥ prîtâḥ sampradhârya parasparam |
puratraya-visṛshṭyarthaṃ Mayaṃ vavrur mahârathâḥ || 19 ||
tato Mayaḥ svatapasâ cakre dhîmân purâṇi ca |
trîṇi kâñcanam ekaṃ vai raupyaṃ kârshṇâyasaṃ tathâ || 20 ||

. . . .

ekaikaṃ yojanaśataṃ vistṛtaṃ tâvad âyatam |
dṛḍhaṃ câṭṭâlaka-yutaṃ bṛhat-prâkâra toraṇam || 22 ||

. . . . . .

prâsâdair vividhaiś câpi dvâraiś caivopaśobhitam || 23 ||

and ibid., 3, 176, 1ff. :

nivartamânena mayâ mahad dṛshṭaṃ tatoparam |
puraṃ kâmagamaṃ divyaṃ pâvakârka-sama-prabham || 1 ||
ratnadrumamayaiś citrair bhâsvaraiś ca patatribhiḥ |
paulomaiḥ kâlakeyaiś ca nitya-hṛshṭair adhishṭhitam || 2 ||

[40] There is no commentary of Sâyaṇa on AV. 10, 2, 31-33 or in fact on any passage of the tenth *Kâṇda* of the AV.

gopurâṭṭâlakopetaṃ catur-dvâraṃ durâsadam |
sarva-ratnamayaṃ divyam adbhutopama-darśanam || 3 ||

. . . . . .

durdharsham amarair api |
maharshi-yaksha-gandharva-pannagâsurarâkshasaiḥ || 10 ||
sarvakâmaguṇopetaṃ vîta-śokam anâmayam |
brahmaṇo bhavanâc chreshṭham . . . .

From the descriptions given of the Tripura and of the *pura* of the Paulomas and Kâlakeyas (this was named Hiraṇyapura), it will be seen that not only were these mobile forts, moving in the sky according to the desire of the kings dwelling in them, but they were also provided with high ramparts and gates and they were impregnable to the assaults of gods (*deva*), Dânavas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, etc. The fort named Hiraṇyapura was, in addition, 'as bright as Agni (fire) and Sûrya (sun)' and 'better than the abode of Brahman'; and these descriptions recall the expressions *devânâm ayodhyâ pûḥ* [41] (in v. 31), *aparâjitâ pûḥ* (in v. 33), *hiraṇyayaḥ, jyotishâ vṛtaḥ, svargaḥ, prabhrâjamâna, yaśasâ samparîvṛta* in the above verses as also the expressions *ashṭâcakrâ* and *navadvârâ*. All these traits and especially the one about Hiraṇyapura being better than the abode of Brahman seem to me to point particularly to the description of the *brahmapura* and the *kośa* therein that is brilliant, *prabhrâjamâna*, yellow, *hariṇî*, surrounded with glory, *yaśasâ samparîvṛta*, and golden *hiraṇyayî*, that is contained in the above verses (AV. 10, 2, 31-33) and to be based thereon. In any case, they make it probable that the word *cakra* in *ashṭâcakrâ* signifies circumvallations and at the same time mobility also. Compare Kaṭhopanishat 1, 3, 3 : *âtmânaṃ rathinaṃ viddhi śarîraṃ ratham eva ca | buddhiṃ tu sârathiṃ viddhi manaḥ pragraham eva ca,* and other similar passages which compare the body to a chariot.

This mode of interpretation which makes the verses refer to the human body does not find favour with M. Boyer, who has observed (*l.c.* p. 438) that the wording of verses 31 and 33 is such that they can not but both refer to the same thing. The expression *aparâjitâ pûḥ* in v. 33 therefore must denote the same thing as the expression *ayodhyâ pûḥ* of v. 31 ; and though the epithets *ashṭâcakrâ* and *navadvârâ* may be said to be quite appropriate to the human body, it is hardly possible, he observes, to say the same of the epithets *prabhrâjamâna, hariṇî, yaśasâ samparîvṛtâ* and *hiranyayî* used in v. 33. M. Boyer therefore thinks that the verses refer to a celestial citadel of Brahman, and that the *kośa*, sheath, which is referred to as being within the citadel, is the sun. According to this interpretation, too, the citadel referred to is a mobile one provided with gates and *cakras* or means for locomotion (the numbers nine and eight, however, in the epithets *ashṭâcakrâ* and *navadvârâ*, says M. Boyer, have no particular significance beyond that of multiplicity). The 'sheath' spoken of being the sun, the epithets *svarga* (which M. Boyer explains as 'celeste'), *jyotishâ vṛta* and *hiraṇyaya* are quite in place ; the epithets *tryara* and *tripratishṭhita* refer to the three worlds as being contained in the sun and as being the support (*pratishṭhâ*) of the sun.

This interpretation of M. Boyer or one very like it, is, for a reason that will presently be mentioned, quite possible. The objection however that he has raised against referring the verses to the human body can, it seems to me, be easily met. The 'fortress that is impregnable to the assaults of the gods even,' *devânâm ayodhyâ pûḥ*, mentioned in v. 31 as having eight circumvallations and nine gates is not the same as the *aparâjitâ pûḥ* mentioned in v. 33. The fortress spoken of in the former verse is the body that is elsewhere also referred to as *pûḥ* or *pura* (compare Bh. Gîtâ, 5, 13 : *navadvâre pure dehî naiva kurvan na kârayan* ; Śvet. Up. 3, 18: *navadvâre pure dehî haṃso lelâyate bahiḥ* ; Bṛh. Up. 2, 5, 18 : *puraḥ purusha âviśad iti | sa vâ*

[41] This has been explained by Bhâskararâya, in the course of his commentary on the Lalitâ-sahasranâma, s. v. *yoni-nilayâ* (in v. 217) as *devânâm apy ayodhyâ asâdhyâ durlabhâ pûḥ nagarî* . . . , *| îśvarâvâsarûpâ Ayodhyâ-nagarî tu martyânâm ayodhyâ | iyaṃ tu devânâm apîty arthaḥ |*

ayaṃ purushaḥ sarvâsu pûrshu puriśayaḥ ; TA. 10, 10, 3 : *yat puṇḍarîkaṃ pura-madhya-saṅstham* ; Ch. Up. 8, 1, 1 *yad idam asmin brahmapure daharaṃ puṇḍarîkam veśma*, etc.), while the fortress mentioned in v. 33 is the heart that is also sometimes referred to as *pura* or *brahmapura*, compare Muṇḍakopanishat, 2, 2, 7 : *divye brahmapure hy esha vyomny âtmâ pratishṭhitaḥ* (Roth in the PW. s. v. explains *brahmapura* as 'heart') ; Âtmabodhopanishat, 1 : *yad idaṃ brahmapuraṃ puṇḍarîkaṃ tasmât taḍid-âbha-mâtram* ; Nârâyaṇopanishat, 5 : *tad idaṃ puraṃ puṇḍarîkam*. This is shown by the epithet *hiraṇyaya* that is common to the *kośa* of vv. 31, 32 and the *pûḥ* of v. 33, as also by the parallelism of the expression *jyotishâ vṛta* in v. 31 with *yaśasâ saṃparîvṛta* in v. 33. Now this heart has been described, in *TA*. 10, 11, 2 cited above as 'shining' and 'full of rings of flames.' It is described as *hiraṇyaya* 'golden' in Muṇḍakopanishat 2, 2, 8. The epithets *prabhrâjamâna, harita, yaśasâ saṃparivṛta*, and *hiraṇyaya* of v. 33 can all be therefore appropriately used of the heart, and the incongruity pointed out by M. Boyer does not in fact exist.

These verses, as also the corresponding ones in the Taittirîya Âraṇyaka (1, 27, 2) are explained by the writers on Śâkta Tantrism—*e.g.*, by Lakshmîdhara in his commentary on v. 11 of the *Saundaryalaharî* or *Ânandalaharî*, by Bhâskararâya in his commentary on the *Lalitâsahasranâma* and also in his commentary, named *Setubandha*, on the *Vâmakeśvara-tantra* of *Nityâshoḍaśikârṇava*—as referring to the Śrî-cakra. As the Śrî-cakra is, as is well-known, a symbol of the human body (see on this point the *Bhâvanopanishat, Tantrarâja-tantra* edited by A. Avalon and the *Vâmakeśvaratantra* mentioned above), such interpretation is not so far-fetched as it may at first sight seem to be ; and what is more, it has also to be admitted that the Tântrik interpretation brings out the meaning of the various epithets more strongly and clearly than the usual interpretation does. I reproduce[42] here as a specimen that given in the *Setubandha* (p. 189) where, as I have already observed, Bhâskararâya explains the term *yaksham* as *mahâbhûtaṃ pûjanîyam : tathâ câtharvaṇâḥ Śaunaka-śâkhîyâ âmananti | ashṭâcakrâ navadvârâ devânâṃ pûr ayodhyâ | tasyâṃ hiraṇyayaḥ kośaḥ svargo jyotishâ vṛtaḥ | tasmin hiraṇyaye kośe tryare tripratishṭhite | tasmin yad yaksham âtmanvat tad vai brahma | taittirîya-śâkhâyâṃ prathamântam iti viśeshaḥ | trailokyamohanâdi-sarvasiddhipradânta-cakrâshṭaka-yuktaṃ nava-yoni-ghaṭitam anyeshâm asâdhyaṃ devatâvâsa-bhûtaṃ Śrî-cakra-nagaraṃ yat tatrâpy uttamaḥ kośo jyotirmayaḥ svarga-tulyas trikoṇa-nâmako 'sti | tasmin koṇe tridhâ pratishṭhitaṃ tri-samashṭi-svarûpaṃ bindu-cakram asti | tasmin bindu-cakre svâtmanîva yad yaksham mahâbhûtaṃ pûjanîyaṃ tad brahmaiveti vâsanâm ajñâ* (sic) *jânanti*. Substantially the same explanation[43] of these two verses is given by him in his *Lalitâsahasranâma-bhâshya* (p. 179 of the Nirṇayasâgara ed.) ; but *yaksha* is here explained as *pûjyam* only.

I have said above that the explanation of M. Boyer or one similar to it, which makes the verses refer to the sun as being the citadel in which Brahman dwells, is a quite possible one ;

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[42] Correcting the mistakes that are found in the verses quoted in the edition.

[43] *anayor ṛcor arthaḥ | devânâm apy ayodhyâ asâdhyâ durlabhâ pûḥ nagarî Śrî-cakram ity arthaḥ . . . . îśvarâvâsa-rûpâ Ayodhyâ-nagarî tu martyânâm ayodhyâ | iyaṃ tu devânâm apîty arthaḥ | sâ kîdṛśî ashṭâcakrâ ashṭau cakrâṇi ashṭâraṃ dve daśâre manvasram ashṭadala-shoḍaśadale padme bhramitrayaṃ bhûgṛhatrayam ceti yasyâṃ sâ | nava-saṅkhyâni dvârâṇi yonidvâravat trikoṇâni yasyâṃ sâ | pañcaśakti-caturvahni-saṃyogâc-cakra-sambhava iti Nityâhṛdaye | svâbhimukhâgra-trikoṇaṃ śaktiḥ parâṅmukhâgra-trikoṇam vahnir iti mantraśâstrîyâ paribhâshâ | tasyâṃ ayodhyâyâṃ hiraṇyayas tejomayaḥ kośo nidhânaṃ trikoṇa-rûpaṃ sa eva svargaḥ sukharûpatvât | Taittirîyâṇâṃ svargo loko iti pâṭhaḥ | tasyâpy ayam evârthaḥ | tasmin hiraṇyaya ityâdi saptamyantaṃ pañcakaṃ samânâdhikaraṇaṃ spashṭârtham | trikoṇe yad asti bindurûpaṃ cakraṃ tasmin yakshaṃ pûjyaṃ tat prasiddhaṃ brahmavida âtmanîva viduḥ.*

To understand these explanations of Bhâskararâya, it is necessary to have a correct notion of how the *Śrî-cakra* is written, of its divisions and of its worship. These can be learnt from the *Vâmakeśvara-tantra* and the *Tantrarâja-tantra* in detail, and then it will become evident that the Tântrik explanation of the various epithets found in these verses is superior to that of Sâyaṇa and of others who proceed in the same way.

and I have also said that the explanation of Bhâskararâya and other Tântriks that makes them refer to the Śrî-cakra, is not a far-fetched one. I have further given an explanation of these verses above on the line followed by Sâyaṇa, which makes them refer to the human body. The reason why so many explanations are possible of these verses is this: the verses refer to the *âtmanvad yaksham* (=*âtmanvad bhûtam* or *bhûtâtman*) or the soul dwelling in a *kośa*. Now the soul in the body is identical with the *purusha* in the sun according to the teaching of the Upanishads; compare Taitt. Up. 3, 10, 4: *sa yas câyaṃ purushe* | *yaś câsâv âditye* | *sa ekaḥ*; Maitryupanishat, 7, 7: *yaś cayam hṛdaye yaś câsâ âditye sa esha ekaḥ*; and this explains why the *kośa* mentioned in v. 32 can be understood as the human heart or as the sun. The Śrî-cakra, too, as I have said above, is a symbol of the human body, and therefore the Tântrik explanation of the verses is, in essence, one that refers to such body. Similarly the Upani shadic doctrine of the sun being identical with Brahman (compare Ch. Up. 3, 19, 1: *âdityo brahmety âdeśaḥ* and TA. 2, 2, 2: *asâv âdityo brahma*) explains why some verses of the AV. where the word *yaksha* occurs have been referred to the sun by MM. Henry and Boyer, and to Brahman by Geldner. In these verses *yaksha* in effect refers to the Brahman, even where the interpretations do not contain that word at all, but refer instead to the sun or the soul.

AV. 10, 8, 43: *puṇḍárîkaṃ nâvadvâraṃ tribhír guṇébhir á'vṛtam* |
tásmin yád yakshám âtmanvât tád vaí brahmavído viduḥ ||

"The lotus that has nine doors and that is enveloped thrice,—verily the knowers of Brahman know the animate being in it." The 'lotus with nine doors' is, like the sheath, *kośa*, in the 'fortress with nine gates' in the verse explained above, the heart in the human body. The 'nine doors' are those of the human body, and the 'lotus' can be said to have them in a figurative sense only. The 'triple envelope' seems, as suggested by M. Boyer, to consist of *satya* (truth), *yaśas* (glory) and *śrîḥ* (beauty) which are said in AV. 12, 5, 2: *satyenâvṛtâ śriyâ prâvṛtâ yaśasâ parîvṛtâ* to be the envelopes of the Brâhmaṇa's cow, *brahmagavî*; compare the epithet *jyotishâ vṛtaḥ* of the *kośa* mentioned in AV. 10, 2, 31 and the epithet *yaśasâ samparîvṛta* used (in v. 33 of the same hymn) of the *aparâjitâ pûḥ* which, as I have said above, refers to the heart. Geldner explains the expression *tribhir guṇebhir âvṛtam* as 'enveloped by the three *guṇas* (*i.e.*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*).'

AV. 10, 7, 38: *mahád yakshá.ṃ bhúvanasya ámdhye*
tápasi krântáṃ salilásya pṛshṭhé |
tásmin chrayante yá u kéca devâ'
vṛkshásya skándhaḥ paríta iva śâ'khâḥ ||

"The great being in the centre of the world has passed into *tapas* and into the back of the water; they that are gods (that is, all the gods) rest attached in it as the branches of a tree round the trunk." The hymn 10, 7 in which this verse occurs is addressed to Skambha which, according to the Cûlikopanishat (v. 11), is another name of Brahman. The 'great being in the centre of the world,' referred to here, is therefore the Brahman; and the word *krântam* in the second *pâda* refers to the 'passing' or transformation of Brahman into *tapas* and water—an idea which we have met with above (p. 62), where it was said that *tapas* and water were first created by Brahman or were first born of Brahman. This verse, however, speaks instead of 'creation' or 'birth' (*utpatti* of the later Naiyâyikas; compare the preceding verse but one: *yáḥ śrámât tápaso jâtó lokâ'n sárvân samânaśé* | *tásmai jyeshṭhâ'ya bráhmaṇe námaḥ* referring apparently to water) from Brahman, of the 'passing' or transformation (*pariṇâma* of the Sâṅkhya system,) of Brahman into *tapas* and Water; and it is very remarkable that the *pariṇâma* doctrine of the Sâṅkhyas should be thus met with in the AV. With regard to the gods resting in the Brahman, compare RV. 1, 164, 39: *ṛcó aksháre paramé vyòman yásmin devâ' ádhi víśve nishedúḥ*; Kaṭhopanishat, 2, 1, 9: *taṃ devâḥ sarve 'rpitâḥ*: Kaushîtaki Up. 2,

9 : *sa tad bhavati yatraite devâḥ*. The word *pṛshṭhe* has no particular significance here : the expression *salilasya pṛshṭhe* is simply equivalent to *salile.*

AV. 10, 8, 15 : *dûré Pûrṇéna vasati dûrá ûnéna hîyate* |
mahád yakshám bhúvanasya mádhye
tásmai balím râshtrabhṛ'to bharanti ||

"It lives far from the full ; it is abandoned in the distance by the not-full. The great being in the centre of the universe—to it bring tribute the rulers of kingdoms." The great being at the centre of the universe is of course the Brahman that is far removed from the full and the not-full, from the big and the not-big, from the small and the not-small, etc., compare the passage *nyûnam anyat sthânam sampûrṇam anyat* (the author of the *Ratnaprabhâ* calls this a *śruti*) cited by Śaṅkara in the Brahmasûtra-bhâshya in the course of his introduction to the *Ânandamayâdhikaraṇa* along with Bṛhad. Up., 3, 8, 8 : *asthûlam anaṇv ahrasvam adîrgham* "It is not big, not small, not short, not long." *Râshṭrabhṛtaḥ* means, not feudatories (as M. Boyer understands), but those who rule kingdoms or kings, that is, as Geldner has pointed out, the gods, the chief gods ; compare AV. 13, 1, 35 : *yé devâ' rashṭrabhṛ'to 'bhíto yánti sû'ryam* "The kingdom-ruling gods who go round the sun" ; and *ibid.* 10, 7, 39 : *yásmai hástâbhyâm pâ'dâbhyâm vâcâ' śrótreṇa cákshushâ* | *yásmai devâ'ḥ sádâ balím prayácchanti*) "To which the gods always render tribute with the two hands, with the two feet, with speech, hearing and with sight." These passages make it probable that the 'gods' spoken of here are the same as those mentioned in the Praśnopanishat, 2, 1—2 : *bhagavan katy eva devâḥ prajâm vidhârayante katara etat prakâśayante kaḥ punar eshâm varishṭha iti . . . . âkâśo ha vâ esha devo vâyur agnir âpaḥ pṛthivî vâṅ manaś cakshuḥ śrotram ca* "How many gods, O venerable, uphold the creature (*i.e.*, the body) ? Which of them illumine it ? And which again of them is the greatest ? These gods verily are Âkâśa, Vâyu, Agni, Water, Earth, Speech, Mind, Eye and Ear," that is to say, the *prâṇas*. Compare the story related in Bṛhad. Up. 6, 1 about the dispute that arose amongst the *prâṇas* as to who was the best and how the *mukhya-prâṇa* in whose favour the dispute was settled, made the others pay tribute to itself (6, 1, 13 : *tasyo me balim kuruteti tatheti*) : compare also Kaushîtaki Up. 2, 1 : *tasmai vâ etasmai prâṇâya brahmaṇa etâḥ sarvâ devatâ ayâcamânâya balim haranti* and Praśnopanishat, 2, 7.

VS. 34, 2 : *yéna kármâṇy apáso manîshíṇo*
yajñé kṛṇvánti vidátheshu dhî'râḥ |
yád apûrvám yakshám antáh prajâ'nâm
tán me mánaḥ śivásamkalpam astu ||

"May the *manas* (mind), that wonderful being that is in men, by means of which, the wise ones, clever and intelligent, perform the rites in the sacrifice, in the religious ceremonies—may the *manas* that is in me, be auspiciously inclined." This *mantra* is the second of the six *śiva-saṃkalpa-mantras* that are found in the beginning of ch. 34 of the VS. The epithets applied to *manas* in these verses show that the *manas* spoken of is not the mind in men, but the ego or soul or Brahman ; compare for instance, the epithet *jyotishâm jyotiḥ* in v. 1, *hṛt-pratishṭham* in v. 6, and the description *yat prajñânam uta ceto dhṛtiś ca yaj jyotir antar amṛtam prajâsu* in v. 3, and *yasminn ṛcaḥ sâma yajûṅshi yasmin pratishṭhitâ rathanâbhâv ivârâḥ* | *yasmiṅś cittaṅ sarvam otam prajânâm* in v. 5. Hence the description of this *manas* in this verse as *apûrvam yaksham* which means not only 'wonderful being,' as interpreted above, but also 'the being before which none existed ; first born being'; compare Bṛhad. Up. 2, 5, 19 : *tad etad brahmâpûrvam anaparam anantaram abâhyam.* Compare also Ait. Br., 5, 1, 1 : *mana ivâpûrvam vâyur iva ślokabhûr bhûyâsam* "May I be ever new like *manas* (mind) the origin of *śloka* (sound ; fame ; Sâyaṇa, however, explains as *saṅgha*) like Vâyu", and Sâyaṇa's comment thereon: *uttarottaram abhivṛddhikâṅkshayâ prayatamânam sat tat-tat-phala-praptyâ nûtanam rûpam pratipadyate.*

(To be continued.)

THOMAS CANA.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(*Continued from vol. LVI, page 166.*)

Literal Translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 3).

Have you forsaken us[39] to-day, oh Lord ?[40]
To-day we have none[41] behind to support us ;
We have neither city nor language ;[42]
Our beauty will lie only in our ornaments ;
5 Your jurisdiction must be extended to our abode.[43]
The lord[44], on hearing this request,
Was filled with joy, and he answered :—
As occasion demands, good *âbûns* (= bishops),
I shall send you within twelve years.
10 The seventy-two families of seven clans,
You must go united.
My children, go you in joy.
With jacket, veil,[45] rosary, and cloth for the head,[46]
Chain,[47] wristlet, and beautiful cross,
15 And good provision got together,
They went in a multitude some distance with umbrellas.[48]
Then, when they reached the sea-shore to go on board,
Friends, masters, and relatives all
Embrace one another kindly.
20 Tears are on the chest, and it is wet ;
None is witness but God.
My children, shall we meet again after you go to India ?
Rememeber us always, that relationship may not be sundered.
Always bear the ten and the seven[49] in mind ;
25 Do not turn away (from the faith).
By the grace of God
The three ships sail side by side.

(*Another tune.*)

By the will of the Triune God St. Thomas (is) in Mylapore.[50]
Without mishaps we[51] arrived in Cranganore.
30 In the land of the Malabar king our reputation to-day
Must be fittingly recognised by the monarch.

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39 The 400 emigrants from Jerusalem and other places, about to start for Malabar.

40 'Lord' refers here to the Catholicos of the East.

41 None, like the Catholicos.

42 Their language would be of no use in Malabar.

43 In Malabar.

44 The Catholicos.

45 Veils are not in use to-day even among the Southists, who claim descent from Thomas Cana and the foreigners that came with him.

46 The Malabar Christian women, both Southist and Northist, cover their head with a piece of fine cloth while at church or at prayer meetings. This is a Jewish custom, *cf.* 1 Cor. 11 : 5, 6, 13.

47 A gold chain for the neck or used as a belt.

48 Umbrellas, not as a protection against the heat of the sun, but as a mark of dignity. Such umbrellas are made of brightly coloured silk and adorned with gems and gold-lace. These are used in Africa, Burma and China also to-day.

49 The ten Commandments and the seven Sacraments.

50 This line seems to have no connection with the others. In fact, the whole song is disjointed and difficult to interpret.

51 We, *i.e.*, those that came with Thomas Cana.

At the sight of the king the heart was gladdened.
To clear the way for the heirs[52] of St. Thomas
I[53] found you to-day not transgressing the commandments.[54]
35 They offered presents of coins and good gems.
Give us according to our presents, and write in the presence of witnesses.
We were given enough religious privileges ;
The Malabar monarch that day engraves on a copper-plate.
The king went, and saw the land and gave it away.
40 In the year Ŝôvâl[55] after the birth of the Lord,
The honoured Kinâyi Tomman received the copper-plate document.
Willingly did carpenters come and build a church and city.
After having lived in comfort for some time,
To our joy there came two ships[56] in the outer sea.[57]

Literal Translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 4).

Strophe VI.[58]

To preach the religion to Coromandel and Malabar
Men were appointed in good Mylapore.
To preach the religion except in Coromandel
The Tarisâs (Christians) failed, and Bagudâŝi (Bagdad) heard of it.
5 The Catholicos was sorry and his heart grew weary.
In all the eight directions—in Pâṇḍya's land, and in Coromandel (= in Chôḻa's land) and in China—
The sole truth was spread according to the way of St. Thomas.
May Jesus help those who did so !

Strophe VII.

The Catholicos and the Rampâns (monks) were all sorry.
10 Who will now go in time to govern Malaṅkara (Malabar ?)
One from those seated in the assembly answers :—
One of the twin-born[59] must go to Malaṅkara ;
We are the sons and nephews of the same[60] person.
And Kinâyi Tomman made up his mind to go.
15 Seventy-two families go on board the ship ;
There is *âbûnân* (= bishop), priests and deacons ;
And there are 400 persons, including men and women.
By the blessing of the Catholicos the ship sails through the sea.
The sea-shore is thronged with (people) shedding tears.

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52 Perhaps those St. Thomas Christians who were already in Malabar. 'To clear the way' may also be 'to expound the way' (Christianity).

53 I, *i.e.*, the Malabar monarch.

54 This line and the previous one are very difficult to reconstruct ; the text is so dislocated.

55 Ŝôvâla is the usual form of the chronogram. But in the original song there is only Ŝôvâl, which would give only A.D. 45, instead of A.D. 345. Ŝôvâla will not suit the metre. The word has no meaning in Malayalam or in Sanskrit or Tamil. It may be the Syriac word Ŝuvâlâ (Ŝuvôlô) meaning question, enquiry. Ŝuvâlâ or Ŝôvâla would give A.D. 345.

56 Two Portuguese ships. The reference is to the coming of the Portuguese in A.D. 1498.

57 The rest of the song deals with subsequent events, which have nothing to do with Thomas Cana and his 400.

58 The lines translated here form part of a lengthy song about the church of Marutôlil in Travancore, consecrated in A.D. 1652.

59 I cannot say how Thomas Cana was twin-born and how he was both son and nephew to the same person. The St. Thomas Christians may be said to be both Christ's spiritual children and the children of St. Thomas, who in the *Acts of Thomas* is represented as the twin of Christ.

60 *Ibid.*

20 The ship sails through the waves of the red sea and the black sea,
Mahôdêvar[61] of the Malabar king was sighted and forthwith the sails were furled.

Strophe VIII.

The foreigner (Thomas Cana) saw the king and received land;
The noble city and church were finished.
Those who heard of this came and entered the fort,
25 Saw the good *âbûnân* (=bishop) and received his blessing[62].

Literal Translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 5) (On Mar Joseph.)[63]

In the good city of Jerusalem,[64]
In the land where emeralds and pearls grow,
Of the lord, resplendent as a dancing peacock,
The complexion, I may say, resembles gold of ten and a half carats.[65].
5 He speaks like a Chinese flute;
He is not lacking at all in religious zeal.
That noble lord wants to go and govern Malabar.
He started by Bâvâ's (the Father's)[66] command;
He obtained his permission and forthwith set out on his journey.

(Another tune.)

10 He was given high social rank.
He was given the several privileges of a Catholicos,
And he was fittingly sent off with regal musical instruments.
In his holy hand he received the Book,[67]
The holy Catholicos, according to the custom instituted by St. Thomas.

(Another tune.)

15 He went to Esrâ[68] and obtained permission.
He received the good signet ruby.
In his wish he was in Cochin,[69] in excellence he was in Rome[70].

(Another tune.)

Together they[71] started and embarked in a ship,
Set sail in the direction of Malabar,
20 And landed in Cranganore.
On their sighting the Cochin[72] harbour,

61 The city of Mahâdêvar Paṭṭaṇam (Cranganore).

62 (The remaining lines have no bearing on Thomas Cana.) *Âbûn*, *âbûnân*, and *âbûnâ* are from Syriac, and mean 'our father.' The Lord's prayer in Syriac begins with *Âbûn*, Our Father. Bishops also are addressed as *âbûn*. *Âbûn* is related to *Abba* in "Abba, Father" of *Mark*, 14 : 36.

63 Mar Joseph, Bishop of Edessa, was the person who saw a vision in the night about the pitiable state of the Malabar Christians, and prevailed on the Catholicos of the East to send him to Malabar along with a body of Christians under the leadership of Thomas Cana in A.D. 345.

64 Mar Joseph of Edessa is here said to be in Jerusalem. Was he a native of Edessa, consecrated bishop of Jerusalem?

65 Gold of 10½ carats is regarded as pure gold. Bodies of the colour of pure gold are regarded in Malabar as the most beautiful. To acquire that colour kings and other rich persons take every day a mixture of sandalwood and gold made into a paste.

66 The Catholicos of the East. Bâvâ is now generally applied to Patriarchs and Catholicoi.

67 The Bible.

68 This is presumably the seat of the Catholicos of the East. Which place is this? Is it Osroëne, the district of which Edessa was the capital?

69 He was so eager to be in Malabar that he transported himself there (to Cochin) in imagination.

70 He was equal to the Pope in grandeur.

71 Mar Joseph, Thomas Cana and others.

72 Cochin harbour is close to Cranganore, where they are said to have landed.

Eighteen salutes were fired.[73]
When he enters the city gate, after the firing of the salutes,
The sepoys,[74] they give a shout,
25 And all their limbs languish.
On the royal palanquin a flag was raised,
And in it sat Râja Varma.[75]
Chempakaśśêri[76] also is with him,
And the king of Veṭṭattunâd[77] too.
30 Mâr Joseph of Urfa[78] goes.
Four priests are near him,
There are many deacons too.
Sepoys[79] are close to him,
And Tomman Kinân[80] is with him.
35 You[81] came and obtained a permit,
And went there[82] early,
And held him by the hand to disembark.
A royal palanquin[83] plated with gold
He mounted, and sat down,
40 And proceeding in pomp, entered the fort.
In the fort was the Perumâḷ, the king.

(*Another tune.*)

The daytime-lamp,[84] the foot-cloth,[85] and regal musical instruments.
We have come with the desire to govern Malabar,
Longing to see my children well.

(*Another tune.*)

45 By the grace of the loving Mother,[86]
He slowly got ready and to the king of the solar race[87]
Narrated the facts,
And obtained a house and compound and slaves.
Those who visited him bowed and received his blessing.
50 And wearing the mitre, he governed three years.[88]

(*To be continued.*)

73 This seems to be an individual touch by the author of the song. Firing of guns or petards was not in vogue in A.D. 345, although gunpowder seems to have been known at that time.

74 The soldiers in Cranganore.

75 Raja Varma who received the Bishop at the city gate has to be taken as the then Malabar king. I think I have seen the name Resovarman in some Portuguese account. Where ?

76 The king of that principality in Travancore.

77 This principality is in British Malabar.

78 Uṛahâ in the original is modern Urfa, old Edessa.

79 Mar Joseph's own retinue or the king's soldiers sent as an escort.

80 Thomas Cana. In Malayalam he is known as Tomman Kinân, Knâyi Tomman, and Kânâ Tômmâ.

81 The poet addresses Thomas Cana, who is supposed to have landed first to go and obtain the permit.

82 To the ship.

83 Sent from the palace.

84 Lamp lit by day for processions. This is a special privilege.

85 Cloth spread on the ground for the bishop to walk along. Another privilege.

86 St. Mary.

87 Hindu kings of ancient times are said to have belonged to two races, the solar race and the lunar race. Śrî Râma, the hero of the Râmâyaṇa, belonged to the solar race.

88 These five documents may, from their style and language, be assigned to the 17th—19th century. All the five are from the *Ancient Songs* of the Syrian Christians of Malabar (in Malayalam), Kottayam, 1910. The theory that these in their original form had been composed in A.D. 345, but were successively changed in wording as the centuries went by, is quite untenable. Nothing peculiar is there in the language and style and wording of them, that may be said to have come down from the fourth century A.D. or even the fourteenth. On the other hand all indications point to their origin in the 17th—19th century.

L. M. Zaleski's *The Saints of India*, Mangalore, Codiabail Press, 1915, pp. 215—226, has extracts from the above four songs as well as from others. But the translation there is wrong in almost every line.

SOME NOTES ON MAGIC AND TABOO IN BENGAL.

BY BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

IN the earliest stage of the evolution of mankind, magic, as has been pointed out by the great German philosopher Hegel[1], was the primary form of religion. Gradually, when men found out that they were unable to direct nature to their own will, religion, which assumes the existence of a superior being or beings, dawned upon them, and was practised simultaneously with magic in its primitive form. Religion alone is the last developmental phase in the history of human faiths.

The mind of the primitive man is wayward ; he does not distinguish between similarity and identity ; his powers of analysis and discrimination are limited ; his ideas are formed by chance impressions ; and his conclusions are based on superficial analogies. Magic with him assumes that all things which are alike to each other are the same, or that things which have been in contact with each other are always in contact[2]. In India, from very early times, there has been confusion between religion and magic, and we find that the sacrificial ritual of the Vedic period was pervaded with practices breathing the spirit of the most primitive magic[3]. It is therefore necessary to see if it is possible to draw a definite line of demarcation between religion and magic. The main difference between them seems to lie in the fact that in religion the worshippers belonging to a group of persons are bound together by a common faith, whereas in magic there is no such faith to unite them. Religion assumes the world to be directed by conscious beings who, by means of conciliatory methods, may be induced to use their powers for the good of the worshipper ; magic does not admit it, but says that the course of nature is determined by immutable laws acting mechanically. Again, religious and magical rites do not differ from each other, and it is often very difficult to distinguish the one from the other ; magic, however, takes a sort of pleasure in profaning all sacred things, as also there is something profoundly anti-religious in all the actions of a magician[4]. Without going deeper into the subject, religion may be defined as " a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life "[5] ; while Messrs. H. Hubert and M. Mauss define magical rites as *tout rite qui ne fait pas partie d'un culte organisé, rite privé, rite secret, mystérieux, et tendant, comme limite, vers le rite prohibé*[6].

Magic has two different aspects which we may conveniently call positive and negative. The former which aims at arriving at some definite object by the performance of certain acts is called Sorcery, the latter which protects from certain dreaded consequences by means of non-performance of certain acts is known as Taboo ; thus, if we consider sorcery as the positive pole of sympathetic magic, taboo is its negative pole. The theory that taboo was negative magic was first distinctly formulated more than twenty years ago by Messrs. Hubert and Mauss[7].

Magic is practical ; it assumes that like produces like, hence it is a common enough custom in Bengal even to-day[8] for those desirous of winning love to make a little clay image

[1] *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, Berlin, 1832, vol. I, pp. 220 sq.

[2] (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, London, 1920, vol. I, p. 53.

[3] H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 59.

[4] W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed., pp. 264, 265 ; Hubert and Mauss, "Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie," *Année Sociologique*, vol. viii (Paris, 1904), p. 19 ; Emile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Swain's tr., p. 43.

[5] (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. I, p. 222.

[6] Hubert and Mauss, *op. cit.*, p. 19 ; cf. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel," *Année Sociologique*, vol. X (Paris, 1905–1906), p. 2, quoted by Biren Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Paris, 1927, p. 120.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 56. A year later, in 1905, the same conclusion was independently arrived at by Sir James G. Frazer (*Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, London, 1905, pp. 52–54) ; see also *Man*, vol. VI, (1906) pp. 55 sq.

[8] For a similar ancient Hindu ceremony see M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, Oxford, 1897, pp. 358 sq.; W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberrituel*, Amsterdam, 1900, p. 119.

representing the beloved, and to shoot an arrow tipped with a thorn in its heart. This is clearly a sort of homœopathic magic[9], for does not Kâma, the Indian god of Love corresponding to Cupid of classical mythology, shoot his darts at the hearts of young people so that they fall in love? By the same process of reasoning that like produces like, among some of the degraded Hindu sects of Bengal, when it is desired to injure or to kill an enemy, a small clay image is made to represent him, and then a knife or a pin is stuck through the heart: the person whose image is thus mutilated is sure to feel the effects and die in consequence[10]. "*Nijer nâk keṭe parer jâtrâ bhañga karâ*" (To cut one's own nose in order to make another person's journey abortive) is a common enough expression in Bengali, which may be interpreted in the same way, though the desired effect, we should in justice admit, would be very dearly bought.

A curious application of homœopathic magic is to be met with in the widespread custom in Bengal of curing night-blindness, an affliction of the eye which renders a person incapable of seeing anything distinctly at night, by the internal use of a fire-fly. The process is extremely simple: get hold of a living fire-fly and enclose it alive within the pulpy inside of a banana, then give it to the sufferer to eat; as the fire-fly lights up its own way in the dark, so it is sure to impart some of its virtue to the eater, who will consequently be cured of his affliction[11]. A splinter in a child's eye is effectually removed by rubbing the upper eye-lid and repeating the following verse:

"*Dhulo has, uṛe jâ;*
Mâṭi has, gale jâ;
Kâṭh has, bheshe jâ;
Pâthar has, bheñge jâ."

which may be translated into English doggerel verse thus:

If dust thou art, fly away;
If thou art clod, melt I pray;
If wood thou art, float away,
But if stone, break I say.[12]

By an association of ideas, the *pîpal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*[13]) and the tortoise[14] are the objects of a cult in Bengal, for it is believed that longevity may thus be attained.

The Hindus do not burn the body of a still-born child or of a child which has died before attaining the age of two years, but bury the body in the house itself. This unusual method of disposing of the dead—the custom of cremating a dead body is universal among the Hindus—is followed in the belief that, if this be done, the mother will bear another child[15]. In the

9 I have adopted the terms Homœopathic Magic and Contagious Magic in accordance with Sir James G. Frazer (*The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, pt. 1 of "The Golden Bough," vol. I, pp. 52 sq.) for the charms based on the Law of Similarity and the Law of Contact respectively.

10 *Cf.* W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, Westminster, 1896, vol. II, pp. 278 sq.; *The Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, vol. I, p. 137; E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, pp. 328 sqq.

11 *Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 141.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Cf.* among the Chinese, S. Wells Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, New York, 1883, vol. II, p. 259; in Ceylon, (Sir) J. E. Tennent, *An Account of the Island of Ceylon*, London, 1859, vol. II, p. 632 sq.

14 "Divers marvellous tales are narrated with regard to its (the tortoise's) fabulous longevity and its faculty of transformation"—W. F. Mayers, *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, Shanghai, 1924, p. 101, No. 299, *s.v.* "Kwei."

15 *Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 71 quoting J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 155; R. Hertz "La représentation collective de la mort," *Année Sociologique*, vol. X, (Paris, 1905-1906), p. 132, n. 1, where, on the authority of the Code of Manu (*Sacred Books of the East*, XXV, p. 180), he says, that such children are buried in a forest immediately after death occurs, and their bones are never recovered.

Bilaspur district, with the same object in view, the body of such a child is placed in an earthenware pot and buried in the doorway or in the yard of the house[16]. In the same manner, in every phase of religious life we find traces of sympathetic magic. When a Brahman has his initiation ceremony, he is made to tread with his right foot on a stone, while the words are repeated : " Tread on the stone, be firm like the stone "[17].

Contagious magic[18] is that which is based on the assumption that all things which have once been in contact with each other must always remain so. The most widely spread example of this form of magic is the sympathy which is believed to exist between a human being and the different parts of the body. Hair and nail in the folklore of every nation play an important part in magical rites[19]. Similarly names are intimately connected with the body, and therefore, in Bengal, every care is taken to hide the real name of a person by giving him a nick-name, or a pet-name (*âdure nâm*, as it is called). If evil-disposed persons become aware of the real name, they thereby obtain a part of his soul, and may perform magical operations to the prejudice of the owner of the name[20]. Moreover, Hindus rarely call a woman by her real name ; she is usually known as the daughter, wife or mother of such and such a person[21], as the case may be. The placenta is intimately connected with the body of an infant ; therefore, on the birth of a child, the midwife carefully takes the placenta away in an earthenware pot, and hides it in a secure place or buries it somewhere away from human gaze. If some animal were to devour it, or if it were to be destroyed in some other way before the *annaprâśan* (" the taking of the rice ") ceremony, which is also the naming ceremony, the child will fall dangerously ill, if not die[22]. An ancient Hindu magic rite is mentioned in the *Kauśika-sûtra*, a book of sorcery, where it is directed that, if you wish to harm an enemy, you should make cuts in his footprints with a certain leaf, then collect the dust from the footprint in a leaf of the *Butea frondosa* and throw it into the frying pan ; as the dust gets hot, and it crackles, so will your enemy be powerless[23]. Here the footprint is supposed to be in reality a part of the man himself.

From the above examples the magical character of the ancient Hindu rites is clearly apparent. Dr. Caland justly remarks on this subject that those who have been accustomed to regard the Hindus as a highly civilised people will be surprised to find evidences of savagery amongst them and the remarkable resemblance of their rites with the shamanism of the North American Indians[24]. In Calcutta, a well-known charm for stopping a downpour of rain is to make a first-born child roll a candle of cloth and burn it[25]. This is based on the belief that, since fire and water are enemies, and since water puts out fire, so, conversely, fire must also in some inexplicable way act inimically towards water, in this case rain. Various other people besides the Hindus have used fire as a charm against rain ; it is known among the Australian tribes, the Toradjas of Celebes, the Arabs, and so on[26]. Again, rain suggests tears ; the birth of a female child is a matter for regret among the Hindus, therefore, this also suggests tears. Hence, the logical conclusion follows that if it is raining at the time

16 (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. I, p. 104 quoting E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk Tales*, p. 49.

17 *Grihya Sûtras*, tr. by H. Oldenberg, pt. I, pp. 168, 282 sq., pt. II, p. 188. 18 See above p. 108, n. 9.

19 *Cf.* Lâl Bihâri Day (De), *Folk Tales of Bengal ;* (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*2, vol. I, pp. 367 sq.; Biren Bonnerjea, *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology*, London, 1928, pp. 116 sq., 175 sq.

20 *Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 83 ; *Dictionary of Superstitions*, p. 176. 21 *Ibid.*

22 Among the Khasis, see P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London, 1907, p. 124 ; for various superstitions about the placenta see (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. I, pp. 182-201 and authorities given there ; *ibid.*, *The Golden Bough*, 2nd edition, vol. III, pp. 350 sqq ; H. Ploss, *Das Kind*, vol. I, pp. 15 sq. ; E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 119.

23 W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberrituel*, Amsterdam, 1900, pp. 162 sq.

24 *Altindisches Zauberrituel*, Introduction, p. IX.

25 *Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 125, quoting *North Indian Notes and Queries*, I, (1891), p. 378 ; *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. VIII, pp. 290, 291.

26 See (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. I, pp. 252, 253.

conception takes place, the fruit will be a baby girl, but, should the weather be fine, a boy[27]. Similarly, rain on one's wedding day foretells tears for the bride[28].

Propitiatory rites have always been regarded as conducive to good results. In some places, however, much virtue is attributed to abuse. On the day of the *Nashṭhi-chandra* in the month of *Bhâdra* (July–August) people play practical jokes with the intention of drawing down vituperation on themselves, and along with it good luck[29]. It is inauspicious to look at the new moon in the month of *Bhâdra* ; those who have inadvertently done so, try to avert the evil by throwing stones and brickbats into their neighbours' houses in order that they may revile them. If they are successful, the neighbours who abuse them will themselves be the sufferers. In European superstition, the surest way of driving away Jack-o' Lanterns is by cursing them[30].

The influence of the evil eye, as I have explained elsewhere[31], is much feared by the inhabitants of Bengal, and, in order to avert it, divers subterfuges are resorted to. Iron is distasteful to evil beings, hence it is said to be an infalliable charm for the evil eye[32]. The use of the *tulasi* (sweet basil) plant as a powerful charm is universal among the Hindus. It is to be seen growing before the doorway of every Hindu house ; every morning the earth around its stem is carefully cleaned over with cowdung[33] thinned with water, and every evening incense is burned near it. In many places pious Brahmans sit in front of the *tulasi* plant, and recite their daily prayers ; it is, in fact, the object of a cult. In this connection we may mention that it is a noteworthy fact that the basil plant, which is said to have grown on Christ's grave, is also worshipped in the Eastern Church, and in Greece many magical virtues are attributed to it[34]. Most of the precautions against the evil eye are of a negative character, and consequently they are taboos.

At the beginning of our article we have seen that taboo is the negative pole of sympathetic magic. We shall now enumerate some of the general taboos of Bengal. The belief that excessive admiration of the state of health of an individual is prejudicial to him, is universal[35]. Hence it is an unwritten law in Bengal not to be too enthusiastic in praising anything, or, if inadvertently anything be highly praised by another, immediately to rectify the error by positively denying its merits. Euphemism, which is so general in all eastern countries, no doubt owes its origin to the same reason, namely not to mention a bad thing by its right name, but to give it a high-sounding title[36]. One of the lowest castes in India is that of the

27 *Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 123. For a similar European superstition, see H. Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde*, 4th edition, Leipsic, 1895, vol. I, p. 551.

28 *Ethnologie du Bengale*, *ibid.* ; H. Ploss, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 451.

29 *Cf.* W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, London, 1872, vol. II, pp. 140 sq. ; W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. I, p. 17.

30 Benj. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*(?) ; *Dictionary of Superstitions*, p. 252, *cf.* pp. 133, 289.

31 *Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 81, 84, 85, 131, 133, 137.

32 *Cf.* J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 435, 465, 1056 ; A. Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, Leipsic, 1860, vol. II, pp. 265, 287, vol. III, p. 204 ; A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, Hamburg, 1860, pp. 15, 20, 122, 220 ; Benj. Thorpe, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 39 ; (Sir) J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, Oxford, 1901, p. 325 ; *Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 92, 131, 133 ; J. G. Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 120 ; L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg*, Oldenburg, 1867, vol. I, p. 154 ; vol. II, p. 17 ; E. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, London, 1871, vol. I, p. 127 ; F. Bassett, *Legends and Superstitions of the Sea and Sailors*, London, 1885, p. 19 ; *Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. IV, p. 486 ; Hubert and Mauss, *op. cit.*, p. 62 ; Aubrey, *Remaines*, p. 57 ; E. Lane, 1001 *Nights*, vol. I, p. 30

33 In Bengal cowdung is said to be a panacea for all evils. (*Cf.* L. Day, *op. cit.* ; *Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 63, 65; A. M. T. Jackson, *Folklore Notes*, Bombay, 1914, vol. II, p. 79 ; J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 157 ; Larousse, *Dict. universel du XIXe siècle*, vol. XIV, p. 1255, c. 2.,

34 *Cf.* J. F. T. Bent, *The Cyclades*, London, 1885, p. 328.

35 See F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, pp. 8, 10, 22 ; Jahn, "Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blickes", *Berichte der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Leipsic, 1885, p. 35.

36 *Cf.* Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott, *Hindustani Stepping Stones*, Appendix, "Euphemisms."

scavengers or sweepers. They are regarded as thoroughly unclean, and most people would hesitate even to tread on their shadows, fearing to be polluted by thus coming into magical contact with them; they however glory in the euphemistic name of *metar*[37] (from Persian *mihtar* مهتر, 'a great personage'). In a similar manner the name of a water-carrier is taboo, and he is popularly known as *bhisti* (from Persian *bihishtî* بهشتی, 'a dweller in paradise'). Taboos of a different nature are those which prohibit the use of the names of snakes, thieves, robbers, tigers and so on after nightfall[38]. The beings which these names represent are all dreaded; things which are dreaded need to be conciliated; therefore their names are taboo for fear of being visited by them. Not only fear but respect also forbids mentioning names of certain persons and objects. Hindu women are loth to mention their husbands' names; should this be for some reason absolutely necessary, they would change the initial letters before pronouncing them, and, if this should prove unsuccessful, write them down. For the same reason, whenever the name of a deceased person is uttered, the prefix *îśvar* ('God') is put before it[39]. In different parts of the country, as at Bilaspur[40], when the *pañchâyat* ('village council') meets, no one of the assembly is allowed to twirl a spindle, for, if this be done, the discussion, like the spindle, will go round in a circle and no definite conclusion will be arrived at. If we look up any Bengali dictionary we find that the verb *jâoyâ* or *jâon* means 'to go, to go away'; in practice the signification is modified to 'to go away for ever', and hence its use is limited. Thus for example, when a boy is taking leave of his mother on his way to school, he will never say '*jâchchhi*' ('I am going'), because that suggests an inauspicious omen, but will say instead '*âsi*' ('I am coming'), which is cheating fate.

Among the taboos observed by primitive people none are more numerous or important than the prohibitions against eating certain foods[40]. In abstaining from these foods, he is in reality performing negative magic; therefore I shall give a few examples of food taboos in modern Bengal. Beef is forbidden to all Hindus[41], as also the flesh of those animals which are respected by them. Among vegetables, the principal taboos are onions, garlic, palm, mushrooms and plants growing in unclean places[42]. Lentils are taboo to all good Brahmans, because, when cooked, they look red and thus suggest blood. Moreover, it is forbidden to partake of food while standing or lying down, or in a naked state, or in wet clothes[43]. They must not also sit to a meal with their wives, although an ancient ritual prescribed it during the marriage ceremony[44].

From the above sketch, which has necessarily been short, we find that magic, both in its positive and negative form, enters largely into the public and the private life of the Bengalis.

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[37] This name "has been applied to the class in question in irony or rather in consolation. . . . But the name has so completely adhered in this application, that all sense of either irony or consolation has perished." (Col. [Sir] H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson Jobson, A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases*, 1st edition, London, 1886, pp. 432 sq.)

[38] *Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 83; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, I, 15.

[39] Can this be attributed to ancestor worship, or is it through the fear of being followed by the ghost of the dead? *Cf.* the German custom of prefixing *der selige* with an almost identical meaning. The Muhammadans abstain from mentioning the Qurân by name; they call it *barî chîz* (Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott, *ibid.*). In the Decalogue (*Exodus*, XX, 7) we find it expressly mentioned "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain."

[40] (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. I, p. 117.

[41] (Sir) M. Williams, *Hinduism*, London, 1878, pp. 155-157; J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 153. See my *Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 63, 85, 85 n. 3.

[42] "Von vegetabilischer Nahrung soll man Knoblauch, Lauch, Zwiebeln, Pilze und auf dem Miste gewachsene Pflanzen meiden. Auch von unwürdigen Personen geschenkte, abgestandene Speisen, wie Überreste einer Mahlzeit, von unreinen Tieren oder Menschen berührte Speisen u. dgl. dürfen nicht genossen werden." (J. Jolly, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 sq.)

[43] J. Jolly, *op. cit.*, p. 158. But why?

[44] E. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894-1896, vol. II, p. 345, quoting *Sacred Books*, XXX, 49.

To understand the Hindu caste system, and especially the unchallenged supremacy of the Brahmans, we must not expect to find a clue in their traditional intellectual superiority as law-givers and priests, but in their rôle as magicians, for magicians they undoubtedly were; the very word Brahman derives its origin from *brahmana* "a magic spell"[45]. Nay, not only was the Brahman a magician in the hoary past, but he is so in our own days. He is not simply a priest performing his daily duties in the temples, but he is a wizard who, with his curses and incantations, can make or mar all around him. Is not the picture of an enraged Brahman with his right arm outstretched, holding in his hand the sacred *upavîta*, and cursing a terrified individual familiar to all who have spent some time of their lives in the "magical land" of India? Can it be possible that at last we are on the threshold of the long-lost mystery of the origin of the caste system in India? It is only a hypothesis to be followed or rejected as subsequent researches may direct us.[46]

BOOK-NOTICES.

ÂŚCARYACÛḌÂMAṆI, by ŚAKTIBHADRA, published by Śri Mala Manorama Press, Mylapore.

This is a dramatic work based on the story of the *Râmâyaṇa* and has been brought into prominent notice in the discussions on the authenticity of the works of Bhâsa, the thirteen dramas published by the late Mahâmahopâdhyâya Ganapati Sastrigal of Trivandrum. It is published by collation of six manuscripts and with a commentary. It has an introduction by Mahâmahopâdhyâya S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal in English, and is, on the whole, brought out creditably so far as the printer's part of it is concerned, although it does not reach up quite to the level of the Nirṇaya Sâgara Press. The story begins with the *Âraṇyakâṇḍa* of the *Râmâyaṇa* and carries it almost to the end. The plot is modified to suit the taste of the author, or perhaps dramatic needs according to him, and the peculiar feature is the almost miraculous powers of the two jewels concerned in the story, the signet ring of Râma and the head-jewel of Sîtâ. It would be remembered that in the *Râmâyaṇa*, Hanumân carries the signet ring as evidence of his character as messenger from Râma and returns to Râma with the head-jewel of Sîtâ as evidence of his having seen her. There they are treated as ordinary jewels. Here they are given a somewhat-miraculous character, probably with a view to producing wonderment in the treatment of the plot. The introduction is interesting and informing. According to the professor, the commentator must have lived about the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, as he quotes from the *Śrîmat Bhagavata*. This by itself cannot make him so late, but the professor couples with it that he was influenced by the work *Nârâyaṇîya* of one Nârâyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Malabar, whose date is A.D. 1590. But he does not give any reference to where he finds this influence, nor does he point out whether it is quite decisive. In regard to the date of Śaktibhadra himself, the learned professor is of opinion that he was an immediate disciple of the first Śankarâchârya, *circa* A.D. 788-820. But he notes, none the less, that rhetoricians like Bhâmaha and Jagannâtha do not quote from him. In trying to fix the downward limit, he places Śaktibhadra anterior to the Travancore sovereign, Kulaśêkara Varma, the author of *Tapati Samavaraṇam*, *Subhadrâ-Dhananjayam* and of a third work, *Âścharya Mañjarikathâ*. Two histrionic directories are said to have been compiled in his reign, namely, *Kramadîpika* and *Âṭṭaprakâram*. The latter work mentions fourteen plays, of which the first five include the two dramas by Kulaśêkara himself, *Nâgânanda* of Śrî Harsha, *Âścharya Chûḍâmaṇi* and *Kalyâṇa Saugandhikâ*. The sixth is an anonymous work, *Śrî Krishṇa Charita*. The remaining eight are included in the thirteen dramas ascribed to Bhâsa.

Here comes in the contribution of this drama to the discussion of the authenticity or otherwise of Bhâsa. Since this drama figured so much in the discussions, one would have expected that the opportunity would be taken advantage of by the learned professor to consider the Bhâsa problem as a whole, and restate it in the light in which it is placed by the publication of this work. Although the Bhâsa problem was started by the late Paṇḍit Gaṇapati Śâstri, it has long since ceased to be entirely a question of his own. The mere pointing to weak spots in his arguments or overstatement in respect of particulars cannot settle the question. Nor is it fair criticism to state that everybody that took the view of the late learned editor of these plays has taken it on trust and has been gulled into his belief. The question stands on entirely another footing now, and the problem must be considered

[45] O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 637 sq.; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. I, p. 229.

[46] Only the Aryan population (see however my *Ethnologie du Bengale*, Introduction, p. xii; Appendix A, "Cartes Ethnographiques," Map No. 1; Appendix B, "Tableaux Anthropométriques," Nos. 2, 3) of Bengal has been dealt with in this article. An account of the magic and taboo of the Kolarian and Dravidian tribes will be given later.

as a whole rather than in the unsatisfactorily peacemeal style the professor has chosen to treat it. The least that was expected is that he should meet the theses of Dr. Sukthankar and Mr. Lakshman Sarup, neither of whom could be charged with having swallowed without judgment the findings of the late Paṇḍit.

One may perhaps readily accept the learned professor's estimate of the merits of the new drama. But the management of the plot and the alterations introduced do not all of them strike a lay reader as making for improvement. Some of these details may be regarded as indicating decadence in art. The tendency to introduce the element of wonder seems occasionally to lead the author into excess and perhaps thus pass the bounds of good taste.

In regard to the time of Kulaśêkara Varman, there is a good deal to be said in favour of his identification with Ravivarman Kulaśêkara, who was responsible for turning out the Muhammadan cantonments from the south soon after the invasions of Malik Kafur. But Mr. Sastriar prefers to take the commencement of the tenth century for his era. There is one point that may have an indirect bearing upon this question, the defeat of Râvaṇa by Kârtavîrya and his imprisonment. There is no reference to it as far as we remember in Vâlmiki. But the Tamil poet Kamban, who follows Vâlmîki and who makes his own alterations off and on, introduces this incident. He makes Sîtâ point out to Râvaṇa that the possession of merely two hands is not necessarily a sign of inferiority, as the thousand-armed Arjuna, who threw Râvaṇa into prison was deprived of all his arms by the two-armed Paraśurâma, to the great chagrin of Râvaṇa, in the guise of the hermit who was extolling Râvaṇa's power and prowess. There is a reference to that same incident almost on the same occasion, but it is put into the mouth of another character. It would be rather difficult to state whether there was any borrowing as between the two. But the similarity of sentiment involved in this perhaps argues for closeness of time between the two.

Whatever be the ultimate result, the publication of this drama is a welcome addition to the literature of the Bhâsa problem, and let us hope that this will prove the means of advancing the question a stage further.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

THE JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY, edited by RAO BAHADUR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR. April 1925, Madras.

Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar has come to the rescue of this *Journal*, which Prof. Shafaat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad was obliged to discontinue, and has started his work on it by a Double Number—vol. III, pt. IV, and vol. IV, pt. 1. It is to be hoped that students of Indian History will assist Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his gallant endeavour.

The first article by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, is on the interesting history of the Âruvâymoḻi Pass into Travancore from Southern India. Of the three main passes over the *ghâts* into the sea-board State—the Achchancôil, the Âryankâvu, Âruvâymoḻi—the last is the southernmost and not far from Cape Comorin and is quite well known to Europeans as the Aranboly. It has, however, been the chief gate into Travancore from all time and its story is traced, in an informing article, from the days of the early Pâṇḍyas, the Cholas, the mediæval Pâṇḍyas, the Vijayanagara kings, the Madura Nâyakas, the Mysore Sultâns (Haidar Ali and Tippu) to the modern times.

The next article is by Dr. de Lacy O'Leary of Bristol University, on the Source of Arabic Culture, which the author traces primarily to Greek, but also to old Persian and Indian elements, with their cradle in the ancient kingdom of Hira under Hellenistic influence brought to bear on Islâm through a Syriac medium. The culture was, therefore, like every other known form, a combination.

Next Dr. A. S. Tritton of Aligarh discourses on Arab Theories of Education. He begins with Ibn Khaldun and describes his ideas as they appear in the introduction to his *History*. These Dr. Tritton explains in an interesting manner, and then describes the system of education proposed by Qadi Abu Bakr *ibn* al-Arabi, which Ibn Khaldun viewed with but qualified approval. Of this system Dr. Tritton gives an outline, remarking on the influence of Sufi teaching in it. He then reverts to Ibn Khaldun and his ideas, which are most interesting, as that old philosopher saw the difficulties created by words and comfused thinking in all education, and carefully thought out means for overcoming them—coming quite close to modern doctrine in the process.

The following article on the Beginnings of the Silk Industry in India by Dr. Balkrishna deals with a very different subject. This is a controversial essay to show that Cooper in *Silk, its Production and Manufacture*, *Arbousset*, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* are all wrong in asserting that silk was introduced into India between A.D. 300 and 500. The object of the article is to bring together evidence to show that sericulture and silk manufacture are of great antiquity in India, and evidence is adduced to show that it was known there at least in B.C. 1000. The article is worth careful study.

This study of the history of silk is followed by Prof. Heras's Palace of Akbar at Fatehpur-Sikri, where he once more gives us an illuminating discourse on to him now familiar ground. Its nature is sufficiently described by the opening sentence: "The indentification of the palace of Akbar among the remaining buildings of romantic Fatehpur is of great importance for an historian." In the course of a delightful study of these famous ruins, full of valuable information, Prof. Heras identifies the Palace of Akbar with the familiar Jodh Bai's

palace of the existing authorities and the guide books.

Next comes Mr. W. H. Moreland on a subject connected with the research with which his name is identified: "A Dutch Account of Mogul Administrative Methods." This account is contained in a Report on Gujarât difficult to translate. It was completed in the year 1629 and is unsigned, but it was used by de Laet in his *Account of the Mogol Empire* in 1631 and by Van Twist in his *General Description of India* "drawn up a few years later." From this invaluable MS. Mr. Moreland gives us "a version of all the references it contains to the practical working of the Mogul administration in Gujarat." He has thus once again materially aided the advance of our knowledge of the Mogul period of Indian History.

Then we are treated to a similar article on the Settlement of Baramahal and Salem from the Records by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari. It is worth while to quote the opening sentences of this important discourse: "When Lord Cornwallis concluded the treaty with Tippu Sultan on March 17, 1792, the Ceded Districts of Salem and Baramahal were, within eighteen days after the treaty, entrusted to the organising genius of Captain Alexander Read, in preference to any of the Revenue Officials of the Madras Presidency, who lacked the necessary qualifications for administering a newly annexed country. For the same reason Read chose as his assistants, Captains Munro, Graham, and McLeod to administer respectively the countries of Dharmapuri (central division), Krishnagiri (northern division) and Salem (southern division). It is superfluous to write of the great qualities that Munro displayed even thus early; while the other two did remarkably good work." Prof. Srinivasachari has himself done good work in reminding us of the manner in which the British Indian Empire was built up in its earlier days by men whose very names are now largely forgotten, and whose many difficulties, failures and successes he so well describes.

The last communication is an interesting one: The operations leading to the Capture of Almora in 1815, by Mr. J. C. Powell Price. It is a useful contribution to the history of Ochterlony's war with the Gurkhas, as it is a sketch of what actually took place then, in view of the somewhat confused accounts that are available of the operations in Kumaon during the war. Not the least of the services rendered to historians by Mr. Powell Price is a statement at the end of his paper as to the whereabouts of existing original documents relating to the Nepal War which made Ochterlony a famous man.

On the whole Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is to be heartily congratulated on this first instalment of his effort to keep the flag flying for the *Journal of Indian History*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

MOLIERE, with a Hindi translation of LE BOURGEOIS GENTILHOMME, by LAKSHMAN SARUP. Rajpal, Sarasvati Ashram, Lahore.

There is a Renaissance Movement progressing in Indian vernacular literature, which has arisen out of a spirit of revolt against the old tradition. Signs of it are visible in the Urdu verse of Sir Muhammad Iqbal and in the Hindi productions of the School of *kharî bôlî* writers. Taking advantage of the existence of the feeling visible in such and similar works, Professor Lakshman Sarup has bethought him of making an attempt to bring this new spirit in vernacular literature into contact with European classics, in the hope, no doubt, that such contact will have a guiding and controlling influence over it. He seems to have been moved thereto by the consideration that in the beginning of the nineteenth century French translations of English and German writers had a remarkable influence for good on the French romantic movement of the period. If I am right in this conjecture, a series of studies of European dramatists, if wisely chosen, should have a similar influence on the new movement in India. With such ideas at the back of it, this study of Molière might well be followed by studies of Shakespeare, Ibsen, Tchekov, Goethe, Schiller, Brieux and others, in course of time.

A knowledge of such writers could not but have a beneficial influence on the Hindi reading public, which would thus have brought before it specimens of European thought as concentrated in drama. For it must be borne in mind that Hindi authors are at present driven to Sanskrit literature for inspiration, and contact with European drama will broaden their intellectual horizon, will suggest literary models of character and manners for tragedy and comedy, and will open to them new literary channels.

Professor Lukshman Sarup has no doubt chosen Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* for his first attempt, as it lends itself peculiarly to existing conditions in India, since it portrays the efforts of a successful but vulgar man of business to imitate the life of the aristocracy of his day. I observe that the Professor, in his preface, remarks that "many of our uneducated young men make foolish attempts to ape European dress and manners to the extent of making their own lives, as well as the lives of their relatives, miserable. Such ignorant imitation is partial and always produces ludicrous results."

In "translating" the French play the object which the Professor has kept before him has been to render the text so that it will appeal to an ordinary Indian audience rather than to scholars searching for a scientific translation, and this is a wise endeavour. His title for the play, *Baniyâ chalâ Nawâb ki Châl*, is an earnest of the spirit in which the whole problem is worked out.

R. C. TEMPLE.

STRESS-ACCENT IN INDO-ARYAN, by BANARSI DAS JAIN, Oriental College, Lahore, 1927.

I would draw attention to this thoughtful little *brochure* reprinted from the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. IV, pt. 3, on an abstruse and difficult question in the phonology of languages descended from the Indian Prakrits. The desire has arisen from the fact that it seemed to me, when I sat at the feet of *bharâîñs* and other rough bards in the Panjab about half a century ago, to collect the *Legends of the Panjab* as they were actually sung, that stress-accent had much more to do with the language of the people than was admitted by those who read the highly sophisticated language affected by the orthodox Hindu poets and followed their ideas. I have often thought that in "scientific" transliteration it was a pity that accent was left unmarked when long vowels were specially noted in writing. However, the impressions I acquired were then too heterodox for general adoption, but they seem now to have been more or less right, and hence the interest of Mr. Banarsi Das Jain's remarks.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A GUIDE TO THE QUTB, DELHI, by J. A. PAGE, Superintendent, A.S.I. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, with 12 Plates; Calcutta, 1927.

The Archæological Department is supplying a real want in issuing authoritative guides, in a handy size like this, to sites of archæological and historical interest. Though nowhere so stated, this little volume is but a reprint of most of Chapter II and the whole of Appendix IV (*a*) of Memoir No. 22 of the A.S.I. The excellent drawings and photographs are also reproductions of some of those appended to the Memoir. It is a pity that the opportunity was not taken to correct some clerical errors that appeared in the original. For example, on page 2 we find Narain, instead of Tarain, as the name of the battlefield where Prithîrâj was defeated in 1192. More than fifty years ago Raverty exposed Briggs' misspelling of this name. On the same page the *azân*, or call to prayer, is called "the azam." The Asoka *lat* (p. 8) should read *lâth*; and Inam Zamin (*passim*) should be Imâm Zamin. "Mutakha", on pages 10 and 12, is possibly meant for *muttakā*. The terms *lîwân, mihrâb, jâlî, kungura*, etc., should at least be italicised, if not explained for the benefit of the average reader, who would also doubtless have welcomed a sketch map of the surrounding area, such as Sir John Marshall has provided in his delightful guides to Taxila and Sanchi. The chief interest attaching to Mr. Page's work, which is obviously not intended for the mere "globe-trotter," lies perhaps in the plans and sketches indicating—of necessity conjecturally—the original mosque of Qutbu'd-din and the extensions carried out, or projected, by "Altamish" and Alau'd-din. Mr. Page is to be congratulated on his careful examination of this subject, and on the admirable sketches he has drawn to illustrate it. A visitor to the precincts of the Qutb Minâr who has not been there for fifteen or twenty years will be astonished to observe the improvements effected by the excavation and conservation work carried out by the department.

C.E.A.W.O.

THE EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE TO INDIA, 1615-19, as narrated in his Journal and Correspondence. Edited by SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. New and revised edition, with illustrations and two maps. Oxford University Press, 1926.

Roe's journal and letters were first critically edited, with an introduction and notes by Sir W. Foster for the Hakluyt Society in 1899, appearing as vols. 1 and 2, second series, of that society's valuable publications. These volumes have been out of print for some time, and the University Press is to be congratulated on its enterprise in bringing out this revised edition and in having secured for the task the services of Sir William, than whom no more competent editor could have been found.

The chief value of Roe's narrative to the historian undoubtedly lies in his descriptions of life at the Mughal's court while at provincial capitals and in camp, and in the light thrown upon the characters of Jahângîr, Âsaf Khân and Khurram and of the noble but ill-fated Khusrau. In estimating the value of Roe's work for the Company we are handicapped by the want of the final text of the "articles" accepted by Khurram, after protracted discussion and bickering, as well as of the agreement and contract granted by Jehângîr that is referred to in Roe's endorsement on the emperor's letter of the 8th August, 1618, to King James (p. 506, *note*). Sir W. Foster has stated fairly all that can be said in Roe's favour. There is a good deal to be said on the other side, which need not be discussed here. Living for more than three years at court in close relations with Jahângîr and his officials, Roe wrote from first-hand knowledge; and although his independent spirit and his failure to master the Persian language seem to have prevented him from getting into touch with the inner mind of his associates, and seeing things from the Oriental outlook, his frankly-stated views must carry weight. Not to mention other matters to which the editor has drawn attention in his introduction, Roe's account is important from the light it sheds upon the difficulties that beset the English traders as a result of the jealousy and competition of the Portuguese, who had been established in the country for more than a century. We see, however, how the prestige of that nation was rapidly declining, and that of the Dutch, who had already achieved ascendancy farther east, was growing apace. In Roe's time the English were but commencing to acquire a position of some importance on the shores of India.

It is not generally realized that England was one of the last of the European countries to have intercourse with India and the East : but, once started, that intercourse developed with remarkable rapidity. The first Englishman known to have set foot on Indian soil was Father Thomas Stevens, who, joining the Jesuits, landed at Goa in 1578, and worked there till his death in 1619. The next Englishmen to visit India were Newbery, Fitch and others who started on a commercial mission, in behalf of the Turkey Company, in 1583 by the overland route (*via* Aleppo, Basra and Ormuz). They bore a letter of introduction to the Mughal emperor from Queen Elizabeth ; but, although Newbery, Fitch and Leeds visited Fathpur Sikri, where Akbar then (1585) was holding his court, we do not know whether it was ever delivered. John Mildenhall, in his first commercial expedition (also *via* Aleppo and Persia) to India during the years 1603-05, had an audience of Akbar, and posed—so far as we know, without authority—as a messenger from Queen Elizabeth. Mildenhall tells us that he requested in her behalf friendship and the same privileges of trade as the Portuguese had ; and he appears to have given the emperor (in the presence of Jahângîr, then Prince Salîm) to understand that the queen intended to depute an ambassador to his court. He says that after much trouble, due to the obstruction of the Portuguese Jesuits, he got all his demands granted—"signed to my owne contentment and (as I hope) to the profit of my nation." Unfortunately no copy of the alleged grant has come down to us. The first English vessel that anchored on the coast of India was the *Hector*, with William Hawkins in command, which reached Suwâli in August 1608. Hawkins carried a letter from King James to the emperor, asking for liberty of trade and reasonable privileges. He arrived at Agra in April, 1609, and remained at Jahângîr's court till November 1611. At first he was received with much show of favour, but his influence waned, and Jahângîr finally refused permission for the English to establish a factory at Surat. It was Captain Best's victories over the Portuguese ships in November-December, 1612, that first enabled the English to settle there. It is from that year that the Company's trade with India may be said to have taken root (though an agency had been planted at Masulipatam a year before). During the next two years three different factors were sent from Surat to the Mughal's court, two of them bearing letters from King James, to look after the Company's interests, but to little effect. Meanwhile Best had gone home, and his optimistic view of the prospects of trade roused the Directors to greater activity. A finer fleet was prepared, and it was decided that an ambassador would be best suited to treat with "Great Mogul" in respect of their privileges, and to counteract plots of the Jesuits. But two or three years, then, had passed since our factors had set up at Masulipatam and Surat when Sir Thomas Roe started on his memorable embassy. Roe left England in March, 1615, and arrived in Surat in September of that year ; he sailed from India in February, 1619, on his voyage back. His doings were recorded in a journal and in numerous letters to the Company and to private individuals. It is regrettable that only one volume of these papers is known to be now extant, comprising the diary and letters to the 11th February 1617 and some further letters to the 9th October 1617. Purchas carries on the narrative from sources not at present available to the 22nd January 1618. For the remaining year of Roe's stay in India the editor has had to depend upon his letters and such information as can be gathered from contemporary documents.

One of the most valuable contents of this volume is the facsimile reproduction of William Baffin's famous map of the Mughal's dominions published in 1619, which is probably the earliest map of these regions ever printed in England. Sir William has added an instructive note on this map, in which he pertinently calls attention to the exceptional credit attached to it by subsequent cartographers. We find numerous errors contained therein reproduced on maps published in various parts of Europe for nigh a century and a half thereafter. As regards Roe's geographical account of the Mughal's territories, which has been printed as an appendix, we must feel astonishment that it should be so frequently inaccurate, and so often irreconciliable with Baffin's map, which we are told incorporates Roe's inquiries. The names of important provinces such as Allahabad and Oudh, and even Ajmer (at the capital of which Roe had spent 11 months) are omitted ; while petty states like Chambâ, Pathânkot, Sibâ and Jaswân, and *sarkârs*, or districts, like Chitor, Bikaner, Sorath, Narwar, and Sambhal, are named among the "kingdoms and provinces": although the *Aîn-i-Akbari*, with its detailed account of the provinces, districts and *mahâls*, has been completed twenty years previously, and Roe says he took the names "out of the King's register."

The introduction contains a masterly historical review of the events of the period concerned, and a connected account of Roe's movements and occupations, so essential for anybody who wishes to understand the constant allusions to persons and incidents in Roe's text, which is often obscure, and to keep the thread of the narrative in his grasp. The notes, which have been thoroughly revised, are apposite and succinct, and call for scarcely any further correction. The index is full ; the work of the press, characteristically excellent. This is a book which, with its companion volume—*Early Travels in India*, 1583-1619 should be on the shelves of all students of the history of the period.

C. E. A. W. O.

ERRATUM.

On page 145 of the August, 1927, issue, in the first line of verse 4 of the " Inscription on Binâ-nîm-kî Masjid, Ujjain " *for* هيصد *read* صيصد

CEREMONIAL DRESS OF BRIDEGROOM AND BRIDE (SOUTHIST CHURCH



T. K. JOSEPH

THOMAS CANA.

By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(*Continued from page* 106.)

Further Remarks by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

On Document No. 1.

Nasrani. If the word Nasrâṇi was used in A.D. 345, it would have been the name by which the Jews knew the Christians. They may have been known similarly through the Jews to the rest of the people in Malabar.

[Document No. 1 is not of 345 A.D. But the term Nasrâṇi might have been applied to the Malabar Christians from the very beginning of their history. For Nasrâṇi is a modified form of Greek Nazarenos, a term applied to a member of the early Jewish Christian sect. In pre-Islamic days the Christians of Arabia (and presumably of Mesopotamia also) were called Nasranys. Even European Christians are to-day called Nasranys in Arabia, as we learn from Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta* and other sources.

The Malabar Syrian Christians are known as Nasrâṇis even to-day. The earliest known instance of the application of the term to the Syrian Christians of Malabar, is in Pope John XXII's letter of A.D. 1330. The passage runs: "Nobili viro domino Nascarinorum et universis sub eo Christianis Nascarinis de Columbo" (*i.e.*, Quilon in Travancore). The Malabar Nasrâṇis came to be called Christians (Kristyânikaḷ) locally only after the Portuguese connection in A.D. 1498.—T.K.J.]

On footnote 32.

The gold crown. On February 7, 1924, at the Southist Church of Chungam, said to have been built in 1579, we photographed a boy and a girl dressed up for the occasion in the ceremonial dress of a bridegroom and a bride. This attire belongs to the Church. Bridegroom's dress: long *qabaya* or surcoat, like the robe of state (*khilat*) presented by Eastern princes to those whom they wish to honour; six-pointed star on each sleeve; crown (aigrette fixed on turban), said to be part of the property given to the Christians of Chungam, when they filiated from the Southist Church of Kaṭutturutti to settle at Chungam. Bride's dress: peculiar bodice; crown, a facsimile of the one of Kaṭutturutti, now the property of the Jacobites of Muḷanturutti, which latter is said to be the original crown presented to the Christians by Chêramân Perumâḷ. By Chêramân Perumâḷ they mean apparently the king who favoured Thomas Cana.

[The gold crown I refer to is like the conical Indian *jaṭâ-mukuṭa* put on the heads of ancient statues of kings and images of gods. The aigrette mentioned by Fr. Hosten is not a crown, but the golden flower referred to by Gouvea (*Jornada*, fol. 4r): "The Christians" (of Malabar) "alone, when marrying, were allowed to wear their hair tied up with a golden flower." See the accompanying plate. The bride's "crown" is really a half-crown covering only the front half of the head, as can be seen from the picture.—T.K.J.]

On Document No. 3.

Rosary. Did the Christians of Mesopotamia use the rosary of beads which the present Bishops of Mesopotamia visiting India are seen to use? How many beads does this rosary consist of? [Of 153 beads—T.K.J.]

On footnote 45.

Veil. I do not think it means that the Christian women of Mesopotamia came with their faces veiled as the Arab custom is in many parts.

[Veils seem to have been used by Southist women in the sixteenth century. For there is this saying in Malayalam current among the Syrian Christians :—'The city is burnt, and we go out in broad daylight. Why then a *muṭṭâk* (veil), my daughter?' These were the words of a Southist Christian mother to her daughter who, while about to flee from the city of Cranganore set fire to by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, hurriedly searched for

her veil. This implies that Southist women in those days used veils. But I have found no mention of a veil in the contemporary Portuguese accounts that I have seen. The term *muṭṭâk* is used in Tamil for that portion of a Brâhman widow's cloth covering her shaven head. It is a Tamil word meaning literally ' covering cloth '. The present song mentions both *muṭṭâk* and cloth for covering the head.—T.K.J.]

This song contains no reference to the coming of a bishop with Thomas Cana. The fact is that our Portuguese historians are silent about the bishop who came with Thomas Cana, a point which requires further examination.

[But the majority of the Malabar accounts agree in bringing a bishop along with Thomas Cana and in calling him Mar Joseph.—T.K.J.]

On Document No. 4.

Lines 1–4. It is difficult to believe that, if Mylapore had a bishop, Malabar had none or was neglected, or that John, Bishop of All-Persia and Great India, who was present at the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325), would have neglected Malabar and Coromandel, if they were in need, or again that the *Passio* of St. Thomas is wrong when it states that the see of St. Thomas still flourished at Andranopolis (Cranganore). It requires more study before we can explain the coming of a bishop of Edessa or some other part of Mesopotamia in A.D. 345. Were some of the Christians of Malabar at loggerheads with the bishops of Mylapore, Andranopolis or Persia? [But to judge from *The Acts of Thomas* (*c.* 200 A.D.) the earliest St. Thomas document, Andrapolis was outside modern India altogether.—T.K.J.]

Line 4. The mention of Baghdad offers a clue to the antiquity of the song. Baghdad was built in A.D. 762 or 764 near Seleucia-Ctesiphon. The Abassid Khalifs reigned there till 1258, when the place was sacked by Hulagu Khan. Marco Polo (*c.* 1293) says that the Bishop of the Isle of Males and the Isle of Females (Maldives ?) is subject to the Archbishop of Sokotra and the latter to the great Archbishop of Baudas (Baghdad). *Cf.* Yule, *Marco Polo*, II (1875), 396 ; 399. According to Bar-Hebraeus (*Chronicon Eccles.*, ed. Lamy, II. 236), Elias, the Greek Patriarch of Antioch, in 910 re-established at Baghdad the ancient residence of the Orthodox Catholicos which had been unoccupied since the Nestorian schism (A.D. 432). *Cf. Cath. Encycl.*, New York, I. 202d. At what time did Baghdad become the seat of the Catholicos who sent bishops to Malabar ?

Line 6. As Malabar was not part of Pâṇḍya, we must conclude that there were Christians, not only in Malabar and Coromandel, but also in Pâṇḍya, for instance along the Pâṇḍyan sea-coast, in particular at Kâvêripaṭṭaṇam, whence Christians took refuge in Malabar, according to tradition, during the persecution of Mâṇikka Vâsakar (A.D. 293–315). Arnobius already mentions Christians in China (A.D. 303–305).

Lines 12 & 13. If ' twin-born ' is singular, I understand that one of the Christians of St. Thomas, who is surnamed Didymus, or the twin, was to be sent to Malabar ; also that the Christians of Malabar, as well as the Christians of Mesopotamia who were to help the former, are here represented as the sons and nephews of the same St. Thomas the Apostle. In the time of Timothy I. (A.D. 779–823) the bishops of Fars in Persia used to say : " We have been evangelised by the Apostle Thomas, and we have no share with the see of Mari." *Cf.* Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in India*, (reprint), 1926, p. 35. May not the Christians of Mesopotamia also have considered themselves the children of St. Thomas, who had sent Addai to Edessa as its first apostle ? Did they not think they had the body or at least relics of St. Thomas at Edessa ? " One of the twin-born " may refer to the bishop to be sent, and Thomas Cana may be understood to decide going in his company. [See footnotes 59 and 60.—T.K.J.]

If ' twin-born ' were plural, I do not know what to suggest. In his translation of part of these songs, Zaleski (*The Saints of India*, Mangalore, Codialbail Press, 1915, p. 215), has : " One of you two brothers must go to Malabar." Zaleski refers this to Frumentius and

Edesius, his brother, and he concludes that Thomas Cana is the bishop Frumentius. We cannot accept this view. The weight of the Malabar tradition leans to the view that Thomas Cana was a merchant. He brings a bishop to Malabar, but is not himself a bishop, as the songs here published show. [Zaleski's translation is not accurate.—T.K.J.]

Line 19. The farewell is again described as taking place on the sea-shore. The Southists should have a tradition as regards the port from which they left for India.

Line 20. The term ' black sea ' may be the equivalent of the modern *kâlâ pânî* (black water). What can ' red sea ' mean here ? Did Thomas and his party come through the Red Sea ? Is the Persian Gulf ever called Red Sea ? [Black and red indicate seas of various kinds.—T.K.J.]

Lines 24 & 25. Here again we have the proof that the author of the song thought there were Christians in India already. It would also appear that the new bishop made his see at Cranganore.

On Document No. 5.

Lines 1-7. The Christians in Malabar had particular esteem for bishops and priests who came from Jerusalem or had visited it. May that explain why Mar Joseph of Urfa is made to go to Jerusalem ? Or have we here the story more clearly narrated in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca* : the bishop of Edessa has a dream in which he sees the forlorn condition of the Christians of India ; the next day he goes to the Catholicos of the East, who calls a meeting of bishops and merchants ; Thomas of Jerusalem, a merchant, offers to go to Malabar which he has previously visited ; he returns to the Catholicos, and the bishop who had seen the vision, *i.e.*, the Metropolitan of Edessa, repairs to India with Thomas, priests, deacons, men and women and children from Jerusalem, Baghdad and Nineveh (Mosul), 472 families. In our songs, as far as here presented, there is no allusion to the dream of the bishop of Edessa ; the author may have thought this required no mention, as being generally known. In that case, he takes the bishop of Urfa (Edessa) straight to Jerusalem, where he supposes the Catholicos of the East is residing. Possibly, our author takes the bishop of Edessa to an even higher authority, a Patriarch.

In Land's *Anecdota* Thomas Cana is of Jerusalem ; in another account from Malabar, he is of Canaan, " which is Jerusalem." This too may have influenced the author of the song in making the bishop of Edessa go to Jerusalem.

Let us compare at this place several accounts about this expedition :—

(1) We have seen the version in Land.[89]

(2) In a letter of Fr. A. Monserrate, written at Cochin, January 1, 1579, after a two years' residence among the St. Thomas Christians, we read that Quinay Thomas came from Ormuz to Paru (Parur) and Cranganore.[90] [Parur and Cranganore are very close to each other.—T.K.J.]

(3) Roz (1604) mentions the arrival in 345 of Thomas Cananeo with 62 (in another place 72) families. Like Monserrate, he is silent about a bishop from Mesopotamia or anywhere else.[91]

(4) The bishop of Oruay (Urhai, Urfa, Edessa) " or Antioch " goes to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Thomas Cana and the bishop of Antioch, whose name is not given, come to India with priests and deacons.[92]

(5) The Metropolitan of Edessa and King Abgar (!) order 336 families to go to India in 345 with clerics and Thomas the Canaanite, from Canaan, " which is Jerusalem."[93]

89 Mingana, *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, reprint, 1926, pp. 43-44, or my translation in *Ind. Ant.* 1927, pp.

90 From rotographs of a MS. in my possession.

91 *Ibid.*

92 From a Jacobite Malayalam MS. in an English relation, Trichur, 1820, in *South India Christian Repository*, Madras, II (1838), pp. 189-195.

93 Mingana, *op. cit.*, 49 (paper by a Jacobite, 1721).

(6) Thomas of Jerusalem comes to Malabar in 345 with the bishop of Edessa, priests, deacons, and 472 families.[94]

(7) Joseph, bishop of Antioch, came with 472 families in 345 and built Cranganore.

(8) In 345 Thomas Cana came with bishops, priests, deacons, and laymen by order of the Patriarch Ignatius.[95]

(9) With Thomas Cana came in 345 Mar Joseph of Edessa, priests, deacons and about 400 families. Thus in Iṭṭûp's *History*, which agrees with our songs, except that our songs speak of 72 families consisting of 400 persons.

There are still other versions, in which either the Catholicos or 5th Patriarch of Jerusalem is mentioned, or Yustêdiûs, Patriarch of Antioch. These other versions should be collected.

Considerably different is the story of the merchant Qîsôn, a fire-worshipper, who, coming to Qalonya, in the country of Philippois, somewhere in India, made the acquaintance of the Christians there and of their bishop ; he goes home by sea and brings his family to the bishop for baptism. He goes home again, and dies. His widow Helena and her four sons, John, Stephen, Joseph and Daniel, come to India, to the capital of a king where there are no Christians. So many miracles happen on their account that John and the king write for a bishop to Constantine the Great. John, bishop of Ephesus (*sic*), comes to India, baptises the king and his people, and consecrates John, one of the four brothers, as first bishop of that city. [Could Qalonya be Caliana of Cosmas, A.D. 535 ?—*In Caliana. . . .episcopus est in Perside ordinari solitus.*—T.K.J.]

The writers who speak of 472 families brought over by Thomas Cana seem to have lumped into one figure, and into one category the 400 persons of 72 families. How was the figure '336 families' arrived at ?

Line 4. It is surprising that the Syrians, apparently in imitation of the Hindus and Buddhists, whose saints are golden-faced, ascribe to Mar Joseph of Urfa a golden complexion. Many of the old statues of our Catholic Churches in India are entirely gilt, even in the face. [But see note 65, p. 105, *supra.*—T.K.J.]

Line 8. The Catholicos of the East or a Patriarch appears here to be placed at Jerusalem. In 345 did not the whole farther East depend on the Patriarch of Antioch, and would the Catholicos of the East, dependent on Antioch, not have lived in Mesopotamia ? Mingana (*The Early Spread of Christianity in India*, reprint, 1926, p. 44 n. 1) says that after the Catholicos of the East Shahdost, martyred in 342, the see was vacant for more than two years, his successor Barba'-Shemin was in prison from February 345 to January 9, 346, when he was martyred. It is still a hopeless task to reconcile the conflicting statements about the bishop who came to India in 345, his name, the place he came from, the Patriarch then ruling, and the Catholicos of the East.

Line 11. The rank of Catholicos given at this early date to Mar Joseph of Edessa is probably an exaggeration. Did he come to India as Catholicos of the East, with the idea of returning home after three years (l. 50) ? The title of Metropolitan of India given to one of the bishops in India is probably much later than 345. [He was given some privileges or marks of honour, not the office of Catholicos.—T.K.J.]

Line 12. I understand that this send-off, in the mind of the poet, took place at Jerusalem.

Line 13. In Thomas Ramban's *Song* of A.D. 1601, Thomas I. of Maliyekal receives from St. Thomas the title of Ramban and a book. He was not however a bishop. The same poem describes the investiture of a bishop by St. Thomas in the person of Peter, the son-in-

94 From another Malayalam account by a Jacobite, in an English relation of Trichur, 1820 ; *cf.* n. 92 above.

95 Mingana, *op. cit.*, 50 (paper by a Jacobite, 1821).

[Footnotes 89–95 are by Fr. Hosten.]

law or nephew of the king of Cranganore : St. Thomas invests him with part of his own dress. [This song of 1601 is spurious.—T.K.J.]

Line 15 and *note* 68. Esrâ cannot be Urfa (Edessa). The poet knows Edessa by the name Urahâ, which may be compared with the form Oruay in a Malabar MS. earlier than 1820 (*cf.* my note to ll. 1–7 above). If Esrâ is Osroene, it is practically equivalent to Edessa. Why does Mar Joseph of Urfa go for permission to Esrâ, identified with Osroene, unless the Catholicos of the East lives there ? But if Mar Joseph had been himself given the powers of a Catholicos, appointed apparently to that dignity by a Patriarch, had he to apply to the Catholicos of the East for permission to go to India ? His getting a signet ruby, after obtaining permission, implies however that he applied to a superior religious authority, as the signet ruby would signify the reception of special power.

Line 18. The start must have been from Esrâ, and the embarking at Basra. I do not think that Esrâ can itself be Basra. Ittûp in his *History* (1869, p. 78n.) makes Gundaphar's messenger Habban meet St. Thomas at Mahôsèn in Yûsse. Mahôsèn is Mahosa, and there was a Mahosa near Basra. Must Yûsse be compared with Esrâ and Basra ? The meaning of Yûsse requires elucidating.

"Together they started": a reference to the goodly company of priests and deacons, and possibly others, who went with Mar Joseph.

Lines 20–24. Cochin and Cranganore appear to be treated here as identical ; also in l. 17. Did the Cochin harbour exist in A.D. 345 ? The island of Paliporto, north of Cochin, did not exist then. According to Roz, it was formed in A.D. 1327. If it did not exist in 345, the sea stretched from Cochin to Cranganore without any intervening island to obstruct from Cranganore the view of Cochin. At any rate, as the party is said to have landed at Cranganore, the salutes were meant for the place where the king was, and he appears to have been at or near Cranganore, not at Cochin. The city gate mentioned in l. 23 could not have been at Cochin, but at or near Cranganore. Roz, recording traditions, says the king was then living at Paru, where he had a pagoda. In fact, Roz and more clearly de Barros place Mahôdêvarpattanam at Paru.

Lines 22, 23. When did the Chinese invent the use of gunpowder ? Elliot in his *History of India* (8 volumes ; I cannot now consult them) has an essay on this question. I should think that by 345 the Chinese used gunpowder, in which case the invention could not have been unknown to the Indians. In Du Perron's translation of four copper-plates granted to Thomas Cana we read that the plates were presented to Thomas amid the firing of guns. (*Cf.* note 73, p. 106, *supra*, by T.K.J.)

Line. 24. These seem to be the soldiers who had accompanied the ships of Mar Joseph as a protection against pirates. I understand that they give a shout of joy at having arrived safe ; the languishing of the limbs also betokens rest after a strenuous voyage. In the time of Pliny, archers were placed on ships for the Indian voyage, to protect them against pirates. Pirates at Sokotra, at the Maldives, in Sind, all along the west coast of India : they were worse than all the other terrors of the sea.

Line. 33. These again may be soldiers who came with Mar Joseph ; if the ships were Yavana ships, the soldiers would return to Basra with their ships and their Indian cargo.

Line. 40. The fort is within a walled city (cp. l. 23) ; the reception, at the city gate, of the bishop by Râja Varma (perhaps distinct from the Perumâl) and two other Râjas denotes the highest honour.

Line. 41. If the Perumâl is not Râja Varma, he awaited the bishop in his palace within the fort : he is an Emperor, and Râja Varma (of Cochin ?) is his vassal. [Râja Varma is not a proper name. It can mean nothing more than king of the Varma or Kshatriya caste. Râja may be a misprint for Râma.—T. K. J.]

Line. 42. The insignia mentioned in this line would have been used during Mar Joseph's progress from the ships to the fort.

Lines. 43-44, 49-50. These lines show that (before Thomas' arrival) there were Christians in India. Those who visited Mar Joseph, bowed to him and received his blessing were St. Thomas Christians already settled in Malabar. The other parts of the songs make this abundantly clear.

The points of Thomas Cana's story in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca* and other accounts which the songs translated thus far do not yet bear out, are the following: the dream of the bishop of Edessa, the meeting of bishops, monks and merchants convened by the Catholicos or Patriarch, at which Thomas Cana decided to go to Malabar and examine into the position of the Christians there (IV. 9-14 speaks of a meeting convoked after Thomas' visit to India). All the other details are sufficiently accounted for in our songs, and many are set forth by the poet with remarkable vividness, copiousness and realism. There is an archaic touch about the situations from which one might surmise that our songs are modernised versions of more ancient poems. [To me they are not earlier than the Portuguese period.—T. K. J.]

We may note a certain unity in these songs. In II. 3, 4 we hear of 72 king's sons and 400 persons; in III. 10, of 72 families of 7 clans; in IV. 15-17, of 72 families composed of 400 persons. In V. 30-32, Mar Joseph of Urfa, 4 priests and many deacons are mentioned; in IV. 16, a bishop, priests and deacons.

The antiquity of Malabar Christian songs can be guessed from what we read in Maffei (*ante* 1588) of the poems in honour of St. Thomas which the Christian children in Malabar used to sing.

One of the interesting features of the visitation of the churches by Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes after the Council of Diamper (1599) was the songs and the dances executed by groups of men. "Before entering any Church or settlement, he [de Menezes] sent word beforehand, whereupon the Christians prepared to receive him according to the means of the population, each trying to receive him as best they could. Thus, on his arrival, all the Christians came presently to receive him at the place where he stopped [with his boats], and to take him thence to the Church. All knelt down with much reverence and kissed his hands according to their custom. Next they organised the procession in which they conducted him. In it were all the men of the place, and, while it proceeded, they introduced into it many dances and various kinds of music and of instruments of the country, and they kept singing and dancing. And, as the Malavares are much accustomed to put into songs all the things which happen, immediately after the Synod they made in the Serra a very long hymn after their fashion, which contained the life of the Archbishop, and the trouble they had given him before the Synod, and what was done in it, with the other things which happened; miracles, as they called them. In it they confessed how, before the coming of the Archbishop, they were deceived by the Bishops of Babylonia, and there were many praises of Rome, and of the Supreme Roman Pontiff, who had remembered them and sent the Archbishop to instruct them. They sang this canticle in most of the Churches (*fol.* 73*v*) at the feasts of reception, chiefly the little children, who always went about the streets singing.[96] Others fenced, and at intervals they executed their lessons in fencing tricks, which for them is a great feast; the streets were adorned with branches of palm-trees, areca-trees and other trees; the women were at the doors and windows watching with great pleasure, and the Caçanares sang the psalms in Caldean until they reached the Church." (Gouvea, *Jornada,* 1606, fols. 73r–73v).

At Angamalle: "He was received with great festivities and much enthusiasm by the entire people. They had decorated with branches all the roads by which he had to pass, and from the place where the procession began up to the Church they kept throwing on the

96 A copy of this song will be discovered by some means and published.-T.K.J.

ground along his passage pieces of fine cloth,[97] laying them on mats they had placed, thus representing the reception of Christ Our Lord at Jerusalem ; the people also threw before him their garments, and at certain places they had representations in their style ; in one of them there was a little girl of six, very finely dressed and extremely pretty, and she sang one of the songs they had made in the Serra at his coming and at the celebration of the Synod, and that with such art that she greatly delighted all, the procession stopping while she sang." (*Ibid.*, fol. 87r.). " During those days, the Christians [of Angamalle] tried to give the Archbishop some recreation, as a relief to his continual occupations. They organised a dance, in which only the men participated ; they began at 8 o'clock in the evening and finished at 1 o'clock after midnight. What was noted in this was the modesty of the Christians in these dances, which they always begin by making first, all who are present, the sign of the Cross ; after that, the dancers sing the prayer of the Our Father, and a hymn to St. Thomas.[98] There is not a profane song in it, nor anything resembling licentiousness ; all the songs are about ancient histories of their ancestors, or about the Churches, or about the Saints. (*Ibid.*, fol. 87v).

At Kuravalangad : " When he arrived, the whole people was waiting for him with much alacrity a good space from the Church, whither they took him, all bearing branches in their hands, amidst many dances, feastings, and diverse kinds of music after their manner." (*Ibid.*, fol. 109 r.)

On February 7, 1924, at the Sacred Heart Hill, Kottayam, I witnessed some of the very dances and listened to some of the very songs which 325 years earlier had delighted de Menezes and his numerous party. Some of these songs are in the collection now presented. It was 8 p.m. A party of men, Southists, armed with bucklers of rhinoceros hide and swords, came to take their Bishop and his party from the Priests' House on the top of the Hill and conducted us amid a display of their fencing to the new school-hall, where a crowd had assembled to witness the *tamâsha* of dances. Around a big brass lamp with 12 wicks, in honour of the Apostles, antique piece of furniture, a twelve petalled lotus, the dances went on in endless variety for two hours with clapping of hands, gesticulations, prostrations ; all the time the men sang, resting only for a change of tune ; they recounted in verse the birth of Christ Our Lord, the adoration of the Magi, Christ's Life and Passion ; St. Thomas' coming to Malabar and his death at Chinna Malai (Little Mount, Mylapore), Thomas Cana's leaving Mesopotamia with his party of colonists, the farewell on the sea-shore and the recommendation to bear in mind the Ten and the Seven, the meeting between Thomas Cana and the Perumâḷ of Malabar, the privileges granted on the occasion, etc. They might have continued till 1 o'clock after midnight. But, alas, these songs and dances are now going out of fashion. The Bishop himself had not seen them or heard them for forty years past. They took place nowadays almost in secret at the marriage-feasts. All this was not now sufficiently Western, and what is Western is all the vogue, in spite of so much clamouring about: East is East, and West is West. The Northists look down on these displays with contempt, as relics of a bygone age. They are just good enough for the Southists. Even among the Southists the tradition of the songs and dances survives only with the poorer sort ; few among them now know the songs by heart, though most of them are in print. Oh, how I wished that night to see the whole of that band of executants, some twenty lusty men, carried across the Red Sea to Rome, to the Missions Exhibition at the Vatican (1925) ! How it would have brought home to Christian Europe the primitive soul of an ancient Christian people, the Indian children of St. Thomas the Apostle! Alas! it was not to be. The Southists are a poor community, compared with the Northists, and the Northists laughed at the notion till the Southists lost heart. What would have been a triumph for the Southists was represented as folly, which would expose to mockery and ridicule all the St. Thomas Christians. Such is this pleasant, pushing, retrograde world of ours.

97 Spreading cloth on the road for the bishops to walk along is one of the seventy-two privileges granted to the Syrian Christians by the overlord of Malabar (Chêramân Perumâḷ). The privilege is exercised even to-day.–T.K.J.

98 This hymn to St. Thomas sung in 1599 must be different from the extant hymn of 1732, called *Mârgam-Kaḷi Song,* The St. Thomas hymn of Menezes' days also has to be discovered. T.K.J.

Gouvea, as we have seen, refers to songs about the ancestors. We think of the songs of Thomas Cana. Roz (1604) has the date 345 for the arrival of Thomas Cana. We think of the chronogram 'Śôvâla' (345) contained in III. 40. Doubtless, there were songs about Villiyarvattam, the king of the Christians, of whom one authority writes that the Christians elected him, a non-Christian, in A.D. 825, the first year of the Quilon or Malabar era. By adoption his kingdom passed to the king of Diamper, and from Diamper to Cochin. I remember reading that the boys of the Jesuit College of Cochin in the beginning of the seventeenth century acted with great success and enormous applause the tragedy of Villiyarvarttam. If played in Portuguese the first time, it was surely translated into Malayalam and repeated at the chief Churches. Who will discover it? Such a composition supposes that the chief traditions were collected for the occasion.

The specimens of Christian songs here presented by Mr. T. K. Joseph will reveal, I doubt not, a new world to our scholars. They will not rest satisfied with so little. Volumes could be filled with the Christian poetry of Malabar. Let us have more of it. Too long have we been ignorant of it. It contains the history, the traditions, the legends of Christian Malabar, of its Churches and their Saints; it holds the customs, folk-lore, aspirations, triumphs, sorrows of its people.

Never was I more surprised, nor Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, the Agent of Travancore and Cochin, either, than when, driving from Ernakulam to Kottayam on January 16, 1924, we met at Kaṭutturutti a young man, E. I. Chandy of Pallam, who stopped the car to show some of the specimens of the inscriptions, songs and legends which he had been collecting during the past two years. How he managed to make his living with that we wondered. I took him as my companion during the greater part of my tour to the Churches. He filled pages and pages wherever he went with more inscriptions, more songs, more legends. Everywhere he had to say he would come back and take it all down at greater leisure. If I was an enthusiast, he was not less so. What will become of all his collections? As long as they are not made accessible in English, they are lost to most of us. [The Kerala Society will examine them.—T.K.J.]

Much more remains to be done for Thomas Cana before we exhaust the theme. (1) The Malabar MSS. and printed histories may contain many valuable details not yet brought together. All the passages referring to Thomas Cana in the Malabar historians should be compared, after which we may compare them with what Portuguese, Dutch, French and English historians have written. (2) The various local versions of the privileges granted to Thomas Cana must be translated and compared. During my tour, I was presented with such a paper by the Vicar, Fr. Michael Nilavarĕt of Gôturutti, in which the Yavana ships were mentioned to my exceeding surprise, and several of the Seven Churches, among them Chayal, if I recollect well, were attributed to Thomas Cana. At Muttam we were told of another version. Shortly after, when I had left, Fr. J. C. Panjikaran and Mr. T. K. Joseph started collecting more of these versions and in a short time they obtained more than a dozen. (3) The songs of the hereditary bards, the Calicoulam Viradians, who for a remuneration and in obedience to the behests of Chêramân Perumâḷ, as the legend goes, sing at the house of the Syrians the privileges of Thomas Cana, must be published. (4) My translation of Du Perron's translation of 4 *ollas* of privileges granted to Thomas Cana[99] will be published with the collaboration of Mr. T. K. Joseph. (5) Besides the *Ancient Songs*, Kottayam, 1910, most of which calls for translation, there are others, unpublished, on a variety of subjects, all of which, unless collected now, is bound to be lost.

(*To be continued.*)

[99] In fact Du Perron's translation is a summary of the contents of *five* out of the seven copper-plates of the Quilon Tarisâ Church, c. 880 A.D., with a translation of the utterly incorrect popular version of the long lost copper-plates of Thomas Cana (345 A.D.). Du Perron's translation with my comments will be published soon in the *Journal* of the Kerala Society, which was founded on 26th September, 1927, with headquarters at Trivandrum, with the object of promoting research and advancing the study of the History and Archæology and Folklore, Art, Language and Literature of Malabar.—T.K.J.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

By SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page 96.*)

H. Gambling Counters or Jetons.

The Siamese Porcelain tokens give an instance of the use of gambling counters as actual currency, but in Burma I collected a large number of jetons, which were metal counters made in the form of coins for gambling purposes only. These I gave to the British and other Museums (Fitzwilliam at Cambridge, Edinburgh, Hull, Brighton, etc.), and reproduced about fifty of them on two Plates (IV and V) in the hope of getting further information regarding them, which has never been fulfilled.

An examination of Plates IV and V shows that the first sixteen figures are obviously of Chinese origin and are in fact imitations of "cash". Figs. 17 and 18 are imitations of Fig. 16, which probably had a definite position as to value. Figs. 19 to 22 are marked for value, as Fig. 19 has ten circles on it, and Fig. 20 has twelve circles. Fig. 21 has six punch marks and Fig. 22 several special punch marks.

Figs. 23 to 31 appear to form a group, of which Figs. 23 to 28 are differentiated by signs of the Zodiac. Fig. 29 has *khu* on it, and Figs. 30 and 31 seem to represent some special value.

All the above are on Plate IV and are all in the form of coins. In fact Figs, 1 and 2 are brass "cash". Figs. 3 to 31 are of lead and have blank reverses, except when the plate shows otherwise, and that they were thought in some cases to have been coins is shown by a note I made as to the figures on Plate IV, *viz.*, that I was told they were lead coins used in gambling belonging to different *daings* (gambling-house keepers) to prevent cheating. Their Burmese name is *k'èlet'mà* and their Talaing name is *akùlet'mà* (*akù* in Talaing meaning lead + Burmese termination). The value given them was *mû-mat*, a quarter of a *mû* (see *ante*, vol. XXVI, pp. 319-320). This last term was given me in Talaing as *mû-mâû* (*mû* being Burmese), or *mû-mè* (*mè* = *mat*)[59].

The figs. 32 to 46 on Plate V are all of copper and are irregular in shape and more definitely counters and not coins. Figs. 32, 33, 38, 39 and 40 have a "cash" hole in them. Fig. 34 is punched with one eight-pointed star in one sample and with four similar stars in two other samples. Fig. 37 has a large eight-pointed star in the centre on both sides. Figs. 39 and 40 are cut with five six-pointed stars each, and fig. 38 has four groups of marks punched on it. The whole group seems to be marked so as to represent value.

Fig. 35 has one small central punch mark, and fig. 36 a central and four sets of three marks each punched on it round the rim. Here again value seems to be represented.

Figs. 43 to 46 form a specially shaped group. Fig. 46 is blank. Fig. 43 has *thwâ* or *ngabî* punched on it, and on its reverse are punched the marks on fig. 44, which are a circle and *ngàn* four times round the rim. Fig. 45 has *ngàn* punched four times round the edge: all this apparently to show value.

Figs. 41 and 42 are again of peculiar shape: fig. 41 with several cuts on it, and fig. 42 with a cross cut on it.

Little as they look like it, all these pieces were stated to me to have been originally British pice or copper quarter-anna pieces, hammered out so as to be defaced and then marked by the *daings* to prevent cheating.

According to my notes, the game played forty years ago in Burma was called *khèpyit kazā*, and was played with pice, *i.e.*, any small coin. The players marked on the ground thus:—

O	a hole called a *kwin* :.
————————————	a line called *kán* :ðî :
space	
————————————	a line called *kyân* ðî :

[59] I may note here that fig. 47 is a silver stippled peacock rupee of Mindôn Min, and figs. 48 and 49 copper coins—all noted elsewhere: fig. 48 is a smaller denomination of fig. 49.

There are two or more players and each has coins called *ngôn*, and they all have to squat, behind the lines *kyândi*. The first player throws all the *ngôn* beyond the line *kàn:di:*. The next player points out to him one of them to be hit, and the first player tries to hit it with a coin. If he hits he wins all the *ngôn*. If he misses, the second player plays, and so on till the *ngôn* pointed out is hit. If a player hits another coin than that pointed out, that player has to add one to the lot (*ngôn*) played for. If a pice falls short of the *kàn:di*: it is doubled, and both thrown over the *kan:di*: and added to the stake.

The use of the hole (*kwin*) is that whoever puts a pice into it, gets it. To play the game was called *twêbôndi*.

I. Metal Charms.

Certain charms, which are called *sak* by the Shâns, are readily mistakeable for coins. They are small silver engraved discs and existed all over Upper Burma, let in under the skins of braves and heroes, and especially of dacoits. They were usually charms against injury and death, and are of the size and appearance of the one-*pè* silver piece. Two from the body of a deceased Shân I gave long ago to the British Museum. They were very roughly inscribed in a manner that will not bear mechanical reproduction on paper and may be described as follows. Weight and size are of a one-*pè* silver piece.

No. 1. Obverse: a *chindê* and in dog-Pâli, *sihô siha âham* (popularly pronounced *þihò þihâ âhàn*), I am a lion of lions. Reverse: (the figure) 3. This stands for the day of the week, Tuesday, the emblem of which is a *chindê*, referring probably to the deceased's birthday.

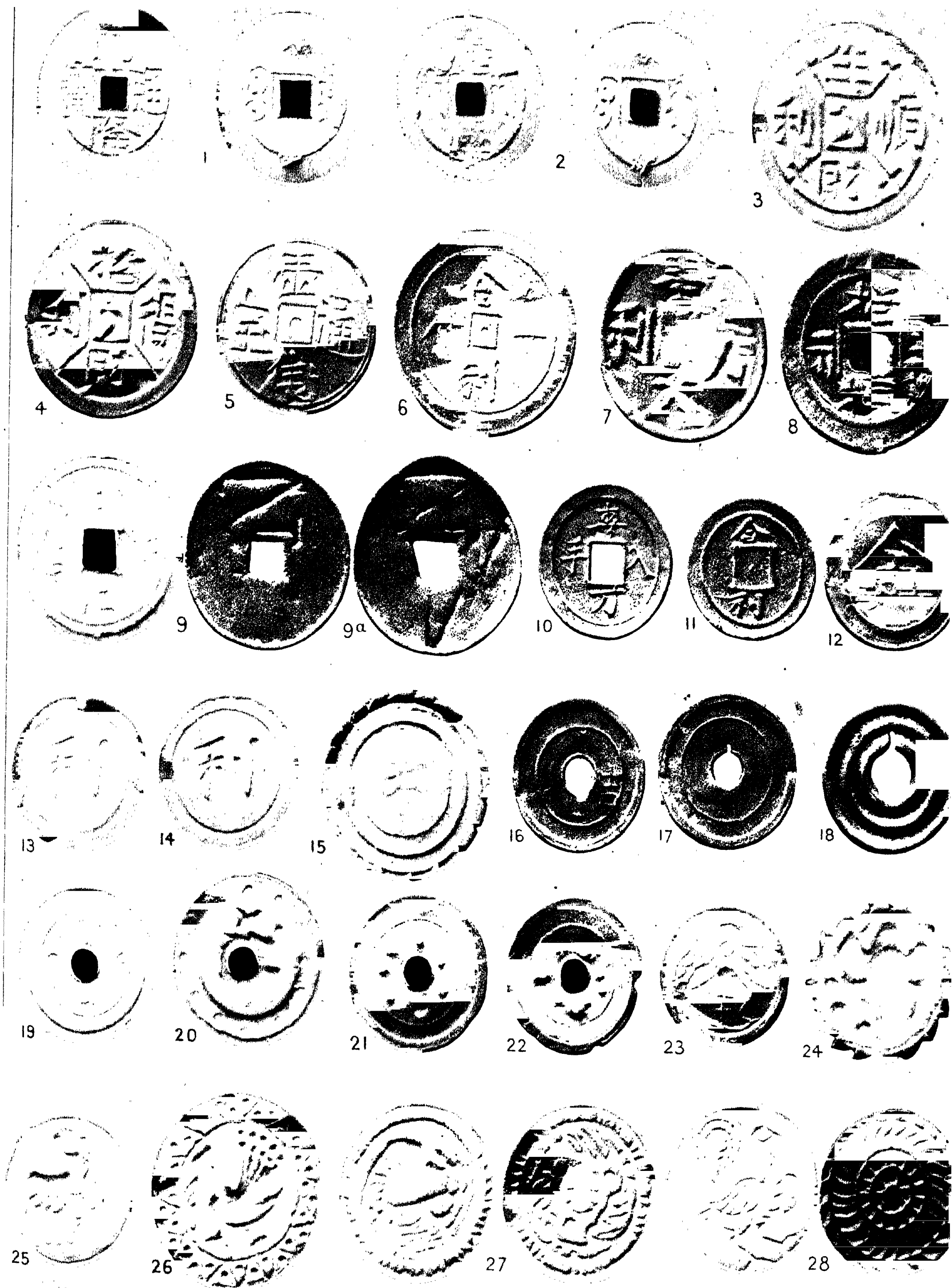
No. 2. Obverse: the figure of a hermit (Skr. *ṛshi*, Burmese *yaþê*). Reverse in dog-Pâli, *indriyânâṅ parô parê* (popular pronunciation *êndriyânàm-payò payê*), the desires of this (side) are on that (side). This is a popular Buddhist formula, meaning "the extinction of desires," *i.e.*, *nirvâna*.

I subsequently secured 30 specimens of precisely the same description taken from under the skin of a deceased Burmese dacoit leader, who died in Port Blair, Andaman Islands during a sentence of penal servitude, and these, too, have gone to the British Museum.

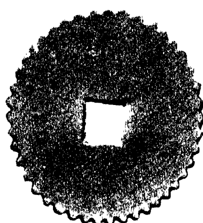
Colquhoun, *Across Chryse*, vol. II, p. 175, has a representation of a Chinese "cash" silvered over and used as "Chinese ornaments," and says that the inscription means "happiness like the Eastern ocean" and "longevity like the Southern Mountain." No doubt these 'coin' ornaments were charms.

Such charms have been noted by other travellers. *E.g.*, Malcom (*Travels in South Eastern Asia*, vol. I, *Burman Empire*, 1839, p. 219) says: "A few individuals, especially among those who have made arms a profession, insert under the skin of the arm, just below the shoulder, small pieces of gold, copper, or iron, and sometimes diamonds or pearls. One of the converts [to Christianity] at Ava, formerly a colonel in the Burman army, had ten or twelve of these in his arm, several of which he allowed me to extract. They are thin plates of gold, with a charm written upon them, and then rolled up."

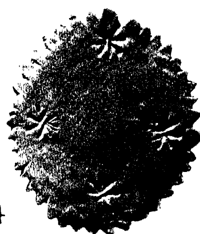
Again, Anderson (*Mandalay to Momien*, 1876, pp. 409-10) says:—"The *tsitkay-nekandaw*, or depnty, from Bhamo . . . afforded a curious illustration of a custom mentioned by Colonel Yule. The upper part of his cheeks was disfigured by large swellings, caused by the insertion under the skin of lumps of gold, to act as charms to procure invulnerability. Yule mentions the case of a Burmese convict executed at the Andaman Islands, under whose skin gold and silver coins were found. The stones referred to in the text of Marco Polo, as well as the substances mentioned in the note by his learned editor, do not appear to have been jewels. The custom prevails among Yunnan muleteers of concealing precious stones under the skin of the chest and neck, a slit being made, through which the jewel is forced. This, however, is not to preserve the owners' lives, but their portable wealth. While at Mandalay, I examined some men just arrived from Yung-chang, and found individuals with as many as fifteen coins and jewels thus concealed, as a precaution against the robbers who might literally



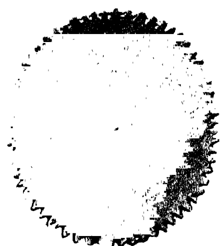

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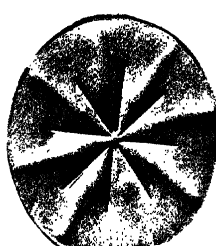

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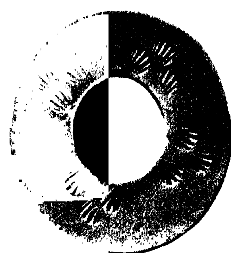

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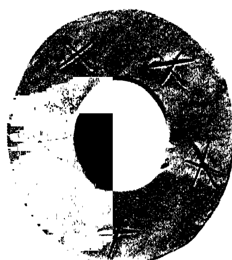

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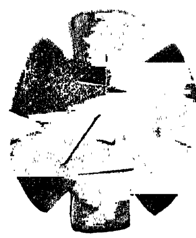

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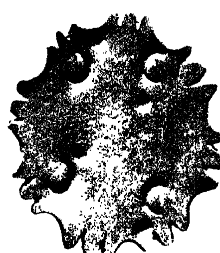

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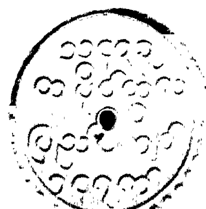

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strip them to their skin, without discovering the hidden treasure. But our Burmese official regarded his disfiguring gold as a certain charm against danger."

And Holt Hallett writes (*A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, 1890, p. 138) :—" Some dacoits let in talismans under the flesh, and precious stones are carried about in the same manner. The talismans are mystical incantations inscribed on gold, silver, lead, pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or even horn. It is not at all uncommon to meet a Shan with several knobs on his chest, concealing the talismans that he has inserted as charms to render him proof against bullet and sword. There is perhaps not a man in the country who does not carry about with him one or more charms ; some string them like beads and wear them as necklaces."

In Colquhoun's *Across Chryse* (vol. I, p. 291) there is a drawing of a charm made out of Chinese cash by stringing them together in the form of a sword, and the author adds that " some lads in the police canoe we noticed wore silver bands round the neck " as charms against sickness. On p. 420 he gives us a drawing of what he calls " a knife-like charm, which consists of a Chinese cash with a knife-like handle attached to it in the fashion of ancient Chinese tokens [such as are depicted by Terrien de Lacouperie in his *Catalogue*]." Here again we have evidence of articles which can be used both as money and as charms, and it must not be supposed that all the objects worn as charms and capable of use as money or currency were so used. I myself procured some gold "peacock" charms in Mandalay worn round the neck by the children of Pōnnās, or Manipūrīs, resident in Mandalay and Upper Burma. They were never used for any other purpose, so far as I could ascertain.

The use of the above objects—which are metallic and have the appearance of coins—as money, comes about in the same way as the use of non-metallic objects of domestic use as currency. I have explained this subject at length already in the course of these ' Notes ', but there is one more instance, which it is worth while to give here, to keep the matter in mind. In the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, 1893, vol. XXII, p. 258, in a translation by E. Beard from the Russian *Short Account of the Khanates of Bokhara and Khiva* occurs the following instructive passage :—" The inhabitants of Darwâz plant mulberry trees and the mulberry is almost their sole means of subsistence. In summer they eat it raw and in winter in a dried state in the form of flour out of which they make a kind of *chupâtî*. Their dress they obtain by bartering the mulberry for rough matting and sheepskins and even their taxes are paid with the mulberry. In fact the mulberry is the measure *tubetêka*—the currency of Darwâz—and many Darwâzîs never know the taste of bread all their lives long. There are fairly heavy rains in summer and the heat ranges about 30° (Réaumur]. The winter is severe and bracing. In a word the climate of Darwâz is very healthy, but the people being absolutely without nourishing food are poor, thin and short lived."

J. King Mindon's Mint.

Whence Mindôn Min obtained his dies I was never able to ascertain for certain. Fytche, *Narrative of the Mission to Mandalay*, 1887, House of Commons, *Papers relating to British Burma*, No. 251 of 1868—1869, p. 48, states :—" The Mint was visited, where the coinage of Rupees was going on. The machinery was procured from Birmingham, but although the engine is under the direction of an African, the actual operations of smelting and coining are performed by Burmans. They state that they can coin about 15,000 rupees per diem, but this seemed a large out-turn for a small machine, there being only one die at work." This die might, however, have come from Calcutta, London or Paris. A correspondent of the *Rangoon Gazette* in 1892 wrote :—" In the Indian Museum at Calcutta is a collection of the local mint issues : and among them are splendid specimens of these coins [of Mindôn Min], evidently mint samples. This I think settles the question [of Mindôn's dies] provisionally."

Goss, *JASB., Procgs.*, 1887, p. 149, stated that Wyon made Mindôn's dies, but neither of the celebrated cousins Wyon, die-sinkers, could on application find a reference in their books to prove that they had made the dies.

The processes in former times for producing silver used for currency have been described by travellers and others. Take for instance the following quotation from Yule's *Mission to Ava*, 1858, p. 260 footnote :—"Colonel Burney [1830] thus describes the process of making *yowet-ni*, which he caused to be performed in his presence by the *pwêzâs*. 'They first purified the silver and converted it into *bau*, in which process they contrived to remove some of the metal with the scoriae by the rough tools with which they cleared the top and sides of the boiling silver. The crucible consisted only of a small saucer or mould, which was covered up with charcoal, and occasionally exposed to view, when a piece of plank, one-and-a-half foot long and four inches broad, was used to clean the surface of the silver and prevent the metal from cooling. After the silver was purified, the requisite portion of copper was added, and when the whole was in fusion the saucer was removed from the fire ; and whilst the plank abovementioned, which was blazing, was held a little above the metal, so as to allow the flames to play upon it, a little lead was melted in, by being rubbed on the edge of the saucer, and the *pwêzâ* then blew through a small bamboo upon the metal, gently and regularly, until he observed the surface cool a little, and show the first lines of the stars or flowers, like milk beginning to cream. If these were not of the form required, he put the crucible into the fire again ; if they were, he immediately covered up the metal with three or four folds of cloth, wetted and cut round, so as to fit the top of the crucible. The object of the blazing piece of plank seemed to be to make the silver cool more gradually, and that of the wet cloth to fix the particular star or flower required, the moment the first lines of it appeared, and to prevent any after alteration.' The Burmese said the flowers could not be produced without the lead. Some *khayôbat* was made in like manner. Whilst one *pwêzâ* was blowing on the silver the rest held up their *putsôs* around him, to keep the external air from the metal. They fused the silver four times before it showed a good *yowet-nî* flower, and they managed to convert fifteen tikals of ten per cent. *dain* (after adding to it nearly two-and-a-quarter tikals of copper) into a piece of *yowet-nî* of precisely the same weight. (*MS. Notes on Burmese Currency*, in Foreign Office, Calcutta)." See also Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, on coins, weights and measures, where the assay value of these different kinds of silver, forming part of the Burman indemnity, as given, is determined in the Calcutta mint.[60]

Again Anderson (*Mandalay to Momien*, 1876, p. 44), writes :—"A few are employed in smelting lead [at Bhamo] and others work in gold, or smelt the silver used as currency. To six tickals of pure silver purchased from the Kakhyens [Kachins], one tickal eight annas of copper wire are added, and melted with alloy of as much lead as brings the whole to ten tickals' weight. The operation is conducted in saucers of sun-dried clay bedded in paddy husk, and covered over with charcoal. The bellows are vigorously plied, and as soon as the mass is at a red heat, the charcoal is removed, and a round flat brick button previously covered with a layer of moist clay is placed on the amalgam, which forms a thick ring round the edge, to which lead is freely added to make up the weight. As it cools, there results a white disc of silver encircled by a brownish ring. The silver is cleaned and dotted with cutch, and is then weighed and ready to be cut up."

And Trant (*Two Years in Ava*, 1828, pp. 280–1) says :—"The process of melting is very simple. The bellows is formed of a bamboo, with a hole at the end for the air to pass through, and a bunch of feathers, fitting tight to the cylinder, acts as a piston and forces it out. The forge consists of a little charcoal on a clay fireplace ; and one man with the bellows is constantly employed in keeping up the fire, whilst another superintends the fusion of the silver in a crucible. When it is separated from the dross, a portion equivalent to the value of a tical, and a due quantity of alloy, are weighed out, and when melted merely poured from the crucible into a small tray prepared to receive them, where the silver, on being cast out, forms its own shape, and is then constituted a tical."

[60] For an explanation of the vernacular terms used, see *ante*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 41, ff.

In the neighbouring State of Manipur, West of Burma, the coinage of the country was entirely in *bell-metal*, which is thus described by R. Brown[61] (*Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur*, 1874, p. 89):—" The only coin proper to the country is of bell metal, and small in size, weighing only about sixteen grains. This is coined by the Raja as required, goods or money being taken in exchange. The metal is obtained chiefly from Burma, and consists of old gongs, etc. ; some of it is also procured from the British provinces. The process of coining is very primitive. The metal is first cast in little pellets ; these are then softened by fire and placed on an anvil. One blow of the hammer flattens the pellet into an irregularly round figure. A punch with the word ' srî ' cut on it is then driven on it by another blow, which completes the process. The market value of the *sel*, as it is called, varies. When rupees are plenty, then *sel* is cheap ; when scarce, the opposite. The present value of the coin is 428 to one British or Burmese rupee, and its usual variation is said to be from 420 to 450. There is no evidence whatever of there having been at any time a gold coinage in existence ; but it is stated that Chaurjît Singh, about 1815, coined silver of a square form and of the same value and weight as the British rupee. The British and Burmese rupee, both representing the same value, circulate freely ; also the smaller silver coins, as four-anna and two-anna pieces. About seven years ago [1867] an attempt was made by the then political agent to introduce copper coinage, and a large quantity was supplied by Government. The experiment totally failed, as the women in the bazars positively refused to have anything to do with it, and the coin had to be returned. The bell-metal coins, in conjunction with rupees and smaller silver coins, are amply sufficient for the wants of the country. Besides coin, bartering articles in the bazar is quite common."

To the East of Burma, in the Shan Country, Watson during his journey (*Journal of the Salween Surveying Expedition*, 1865, p. 10) remarked that " a quantity of lead ore, rich in silver, is found in this neighbourhood. I visited the buildings where ore is smelted. From information obtained on the spot, I ascertained that from 2 to 3 tickals of silver were paid for one basket (about a bushel) of the ore, and that the value of the yield of silver from that quantity was from 3 to 4 tickals. The ore is first smelted in large furnaces, and the lead and silver mixed. That [which] runs out through a funnel at the bottom of the furnace is placed in another furnace in which there is live charcoal, several inches thick. I did not see the metal placed in this furnace, but I was told that about thirty viss had been put in about an hour previously. On looking into the second furnace, a small white speck was visible on the surface of the red-hot charcoal. This gradually enlarged, and I saw a flat piece of silver weighing 10 tickals taken out of the furnace with a long iron spoon. This after a little difficulty I purchased for Rs. 15. The information I obtained regarding the working of the mines and the amount of revenue that the Government obtained therefrom was so contradictory, that I am unable to give an opinion on these points."

Fedden, in the same *Journal*, p. 39, reported as follows : " Kyouktat is a large town or rather overgrown village, and one of the most populous in the [Shan] States. Here there are some smelting works of argentiferous galena that occurs in the limestones and calcareous deposits of this district, but it was impossible to ascertain from the natives the precise localities where it was got. The ore is purchased by the smelter at the rate of two to three-and-a-half tickals of silver (*bau*) per basket measure (about a bushel) of ore, uncleaned, often containing a good deal of rubbish apparently. It must be rich, however, in silver, or this metal could not be extracted by the simple and rude method practised.

" The larger lumps being broken up, the ore is first put into a small cupola or blast-furnace, together with charcoal and a proportion of broken slag. These cupolas are of clay and built upon the ground two-and-a-half or three feet in height, and fourteen to sixteen inches in diameter. Women are employed standing on raised platforms to pump the blast,

61 I have also gone deeply into this coinage, *ante*, vol. XXVII, pp. 169 ff., 177.

generally two to each furnace. As the sulphur is driven off, the reduced metal accumulates at the bottom of the furnace, and is ladled or rather scraped out from below (the scoriae being removed), into moulds in the ground, where it assumes the form of massive lenticular ingots. When cool and set these ingots are removed to the refining shed, and placed in small reverberatory furnaces, with the fuel—large pieces of charcoal supported on fire-clay bars above the metal, which is thus kept in a fused state for about twenty-four hours. During this time, as the lead becomes oxidized, it is removed by gently revolving over the surface an iron rod around which the lead in the form of litharge solidifies, and as this process is continued, it accumulates in a number of coatings or layers, one upon the other. When all the lead has been thus removed, the silver residue is taken out as a button or plate on an iron ladle. The rollers of litharge have of course to be again reduced, in order to convert them into metallic lead, and there must be a considerable loss of the metal during this as well as the former process.

"The plate of silver obtained is considered pure, and is not used in this state as currency, but is sold to the silver smiths and jewellers, who alloy it with copper and lead, in various proportions.

"The smelter at Kyouktat also buys up the argentiferous and cupriferous lead residue from the silversmiths' forges, and extracts the several metals in his furnaces."

From the following interesting account by Sir John Malcolm in the Central Provinces of India (*Memoir of Central India*, 1823, vol. II, pp. 80, 81 and footnote) it is clear that Far Eastern methods of minting were much the same as the Indian : "There are mints at almost all the principal towns (Oojein, Indore, Bhopal, Pertaubghur, Bhilsa, Gunj Bassowda, Seronge, Kotah) in Central India . . . .

"The right of coining is vested in no particular body, or individuals. Any banker or merchant sufficiently conversant in the business, has merely to make application to Government, presenting at the same time a trifling acknowledgement, engaging to produce coin of the regulated standard, and to pay the proper fees on its being assayed and permitted to pass current. Almost all the expense falls on the merchant, the Government retaining in their pay merely the following officers :—a superintendent, an assay-master, and an accountant, and some refiners. Besides their wages, these mint-officers are allowed certain perquisites, which, however, are but very trifling . . . .

"The banker or merchant, having obtained permission to coin, and having collected a sufficient number of silversmiths, makes such purchases of coin or other bullion as will turn out most to his advantage. These, being in general baser coins than the new one to be formed, are first brought to the Nearchee, or refiner, who, though not a permanent Government officer, has acquired, by agreeing to pay a share of his profits to the latter, a species of contract, the rates of the payment to him, and other dues, being permanently fixed at one rupee for every three hundred and fifty refined, besides supply of fluxes from Government and lead from the merchant. The mode of fining is always by cuppellation with lead: three hundred and fifty rupees are placed at one time in the cuppel, with a certain quantity of lead, according to the standard of the silver used, which by experience he knows will suffice for bringing it to a certain degree of purity, a little higher than that required for the coin. The standard is then nicely adjusted by adding a certain quantity of baser metal. The purified mass is afterwards taken to the melter, who, putting one thousand rupees weight at a time in a large crucible on an iron ring, capable of being raised by attached chains, melts it and runs it into several small flat moulds, about six inches long, and half an inch broad, forming it thus into convenient pieces for cutting into the necessary dimensions. The melter receives for his labour half a rupee per thousand, half of which is paid by the merchant and half by Government. The bars of silver are then delivered to the silversmiths, each of whom has a small raised fire-place and anvil in front close to him. On one side sits another with scales

and shears, for supplying him with square pieces of the metal of nearly the proper weight. On the other side is a person whose business is to adjust the weight more accurately after it has been formed into its shape. The silversmith receives back the small lumps, heats them red-hot, and, taking them up with a pair of small forks, gives them two or three smart blows on the angular points, then strikes the piece flat, and gives it afterwards one or two rapid turns on its edge, accompanied by gentle stroke of the hammer; and it thus receives its rudely round form ready for the die. Before this operation, however, it is taken to another man to clean, by boiling it in a mixture of tamarind and salt. The planchets are then taken to receive the impression or inscription. This is formed by two steel dies; one firmly fixed in a heavy raised block, and the silver piece being placed on it; the other die, in form of a large heavy punch, is placed above by one man, whilst an assistant gives it a smart blow with a heavy hammer; one blow suffices. These men are relieved every two hours.

"The number of rupees being thus completed, they are carried to the assay-master, and, if approved, the fees are paid and the coin taken away by the proprietor, for circulation, If not approved, they must be recoined at his expense; no fees being, however, again taken, but merely a trifle given to the melter for remelting them, with the proper quantity of purer metal to reduce them to the assay touch. Should an extra number of refiners be required on an emergency, they receive the same dues as the others; but, as they have to find their own fluxes, they pay but one quarter instead of half to Government."

It is of interest to reproduce here remarks of my own (*Coins of the Modern Native Chief of the Panjab*, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, pp. 321, ff.):—"Griffin, *Rajas of the Panjab*, in a long footnote extending over pages 286–289 [not quoted], gives the detailed report of General R. G. Taylor, at one time Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab for the Cis-Satluj States, on the mints of those States, which is of much value in connection with this paper, and indeed with the study generally of the methods of Oriental mints. Any one who has entered into Indian or Oriental numismatics generally, must be convinced that, where the European method of minting has not been adopted, Orientals coin now as they have done at any time these 2,000 years. Any knowledge, then, that we can gather now of the working of a genuine Eastern mint will no doubt explain what has occurred in Eastern mints as a rule since the days that coins began to be used.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

THE NWESHIN.

The *Journal* of the Burma Research Society, vol. XVI, pt. iii, is entirely taken up with Geology, Zoology, Botany and Engineering, and is not a promising issue for the research to which this *Journal* is devoted. Nevertheless it contains an item of great folklore interest. On p. 213 is a short note on the Nwêshin, or the snake that issues from an aquatic plant. It is given here in full.

R. C. TEMPLE.

"The Nweshin, by S. G. Ghose (Department of Agriculture). That animals may originate from plants is a popular belief in Burma. The animal is regarded, not as a metamorphosed plant, but as a portion budded off, the plant remaining as a separate entity. The classical example is that of the charming Princess Padônmadevi, who issued from a lotus flower (*padônma*). Again, the *mwêsein* (literally, green snake) is believed to arise from certain creepers, and correspondingly to differ in its reproduction from the normal type of snake. As evidence, many a person is prepared to swear to having seen a creeper shoot, the outer part of what had already changed into the head and neck of the *mwêsein*, while the remaining portion continued vegetable. Lastly there is the *nwêshin* (literally, live creeper), which is believed to become alive and motile on reaching water. A slightly different version holds that the metamorphosis is not actually effected, the *nwêshin* remaining a creeper but becoming so active as easily to be mistaken for a snake. [Specimens of *nwêshin* submitted for examination were found to belong to the *Phylum Nemathelminthes*, Family *Gordiidæ*. The habit of this worm of coiling—often in masses—round stems of water-plants and occasionally becoming detached, and of the larval form, hatching its egg-strings wound round water plants and departing in search of its host, afford a ready explanation of the above belief. Editor, *Journal*, Burma Research Society.]

MAN A SUMMARY OF THE UNIVERSE.

Here is something from the West, which may interest students of Indian—especially Yoga-Philosophy. In Miall's translation of Maeterlinck's *The Great Secret*, 1922, p. 216, we read: "The occultists of to-day . . . have gradually succeeded if not in proving, yet in preparing us to accept the proof, that there is in man, whom we may regard as sort of summary of the universe, a spiritual power other than that which proceeds from his organs or his material and conscious mind: which does not entirely depend on the existence of his body." Pages 210 ff. are also worth reading on this point. The metapsychist argument is that thought can exist and has existed without a brain: there is no such thing as "inert matter"; every thing has energy which can direct movement.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE TIBETAN BOOK OF THE DEAD, according to LAMA KAZI DAWA SAMDUP'S English Rendering by W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ. Oxford University Press, 1927.

This is a most conscientious work on a study of perennial interest to a large world of scholars, as it contains the views on eschatology held by a highly educated Tibetan, which one sees that Indian philosophy has had a large share in forming. It has a characteristic foreword by Sir John Woodroffe, and can be recommended to the attention of those who take up this class of speculation. To such Dr. Evans-Wentz has rendered conspicuous service by publishing it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE STONE AGE IN INDIA, by P. T. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR; Madras, Government Press, 1927.

This is a reprint of a lecture delivered in 1925. It is divided into two chapters,—I. *The Old Stone Age*, and II. *The New Stone Age*, and contains four plates, reproduced from the late Mr. R. Bruce Foote's *Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities*, and two outline maps indicating palæolithic and neolithic sites, for which some other source also has apparently been tapped.

From consideration of his habits and requirements, Mr. Ayyangar is of opinion that man "most probably rose and grew in the comparatively narrow strip of coast between the jungle and the Indian Ocean," and he evidently regards this conclusion as supported by the geographical distribution of the sites where palæolithic finds have hitherto been made. But the finds in many central localities, *e.g.*, Rajputana and Central India and the basins of the Godâvarî and Kistnâ have to be accounted for; and the reasons given for discarding the great river valleys in this connexion are not convincing. Surely Mr. Ayyangar does not really think that an ammonite is a "bone turned into stone" (p. 54) or that the presence of a (possible) *svastika* mark on a pot found near Mysore can tend materially to substantiate intimate cultural and commercial intercourse between India and other countries, having regard to the mass of evidence as to the wide distribution of this sign in early times.

The real interest, however, of the matter contained in this lecture does not lie in the details given of the artefacts of palæolithic and neolithic man in India, but in the views stated under certain of the headings into which the chapters have been subdivided. While it is true that, in many parts, the village deities propitiated by the lowest stratum of the people are more often goddesses than gods, this hardly indicates a general conclusion "that the family organization which grew in the later palæological sub-periods was matriarchal in character, such as is also proved by the well-known relics of the matriarchate in several corners of modern India." The suggestion as to the meaning of the Vedic term *pañcajanâḥ* is not likely to be accepted. Again, the arguments employed to support the statement that "the wars between the Aryas and the Dasyus, misunderstood by modern students to be due to a war of invasion, were but fights between two opposed cults"—between the "fireless" cult of the phallus and the "fire-cult" of the Indra-Agni worshippers—are not satisfying, though Mr. Ayyangar here calls our attention to a question of absorbing interest, *viz.*, the extent to which the antagonism of religious cults shaped the course of important events in ancient India. It may yet be established perhaps that in such hostility lay the origins of the great war described in the *Mahâbhârata*. The subject is one that merits careful study. In regard to languages Mr. Ayyangar is still more iconoclastic. He holds that there is no real difference between the so-called Gauḍian spoken dialects of Northern India and the Dravidian languages of Southern India, except that the northern dialects have been much more profoundly affected by Sanskrit. He prefers the name Niṣâda (a title long since suggested, but not adopted, by Sten Konow) for the family of languages to which Max Muller's title *Muṇḍâ* is now ordinarily applied by linguists. His contention that "all the spoken languages of India (perhaps including the Niṣâda dialects, too) are dialects of one family of languages —not the Indo-Germanic family—which may be called Pan-Indian and that they are *deśi* in essential structure, and therefore evolved in India in neolithic times, if not earlier" can hardly be treated seriously.

C.E.A.W.O.

LA THÉORIE DE LA CONNAISSANCE ET LA LOGIQUE CHEZ LES BOUDDHISTES TARDIFS.

Thanks to Madame Manziarly and Paul Masson-Oursel, Professor Sh. Stcherbatsky's able study of the 'Theory of Knowledge and Logic in the time of

later Buddhists, has been made available for French scholars. According to Massonoursel himself the principal merit of this authorised translation belongs to Mme. Manziarly. It is a well written thesis of eighteen chapters under the different headings of time (*kâla*), space (*âkâśa*), knowledge (*pramâṇa*), perception (*pratyakṣa*), imagination (*kalpanâ*), particular essence (*sâmânyalakṣaṇa*), the absolute (*paramârthasat*). In chapters 9 & 10 the source and results of perception (*pramâṇâ*) are discussed. Chapter 13 is devoted to an examination of the theory of perception in the Brahmanical systems. The theory of reason (*anumâna*), and the necessary relation between ideas (*vyâpti*), negative judgments and the law of contradiction are discussed in chapter 14 and the following chapters.

In the opening pages of the work we are told who are the later Buddhist thinkers. These are Vasubandhu, Dignâga and Dharmakîrti. It is remarked that Vasubhandu's work cannot be ranked as a logical treatise but only a manual of dialectics (*Vâdavidhâna*). Still the germs of Dignâga's system are found dissimulated in many passages of Vasubhandu's *Abhidharmakośa*. But the credit of founding a definite system of logic is given to Dignâga, and it is said that Dharmakîrti gave to this system of Dignâga, a definite form. The treatise under review, though excellent and valuable in different respects, suffers from one defect, namely the time and place of these writers have not been discussed in any place except a short paragraph (on p. 2) which says that both Dignâga and Dharmakîrti were natives of the south and were Brahmans by birth. It is said that when Dignâga wrote his treatise, the principal schools of philosophy had been formulated. For Dignâga opposes the schools of Nyaya, Vaiśesika, Saṅkhya and Mîmâṁsa. According to this thesis Dignâga is indebted to Vasubandhu, as Dharmakîrti to Dignâga. There is now the theory of Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar of Madras University that, as Dignâga's system so completely agrees with that propounded in the great Tamil classic *Maṇimêkhalaî*, there is every reason to believe that Dignâga might have been indebted to this treatise and its author on historical and chronological grounds. If this were to be established, it would solve the problem of fixing the date of *Maṇimêkhalai*.

The present thesis is valuable in the sense that the different views propounded by the Buddhist writers are comparatively studied with the Vedânta and Mîmâṁsa and other Brahmanical schools. In fundamentals they are not opposed. The Buddhist theory of first knowledge is corroborated by Kumârila, who admits different stages preceding the final assimilation of the object by the conscience. Dignâga and Dharmakîrti are said to belong to the school of Yogacharas or pure idealists.

The chapter on the theory of reason is interesting. It does not differ from judgment. The essence and function of syllogism are discussed rather elaborately. The ideas of syllogism and perception are correlative. Thus the treatise offers a careful study of a great subject, and is likely to prove invaluable to students of Indian logic and philosophy.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

TAMIL LEXICON, published under the authority of the University of Madras, vol. I in 3 parts (1924-26), pp. xxv and 632; and vol. II (2 parts so far published) (1926-27), pp. 633 to 952. Printed at the Madras Diocesan Press.

Students of Dravidian languages and philology are now to be found in many universities and in learned societies, and growing attention is being given to the problems of Dravidian antiquities. To these the publication of the *Tamil Lexicon* by the University of Madras should be welcome. Government has been financing the *Tamil Lexicon* Office, started so long ago as 1912 and working under the control of the University of Madras which has appointed a special committee to do this work of supervision. The belated publication of these parts, which constitute about one-third of the whole, and which cover only the vowels and part of the first consonant letter, is all the more welcome. It is expected that the whole book will run to about 3000 pages, and about 100,000 words, and will be completed in about 3 years from now. The plan of the *Lexicon*, explained in a small booklet issued along with the last of the parts under review, is based on a strictly alphabetical arrangement and a transliteration of the words into English, "giving the equivalent pronunciation of Tamil words as written—to help those ignorant of or new to the Tamil alphabet," as otherwise the diversity of the pronunciation of words in the different parts of the country makes a phonetic rendering impossible and only an equivalent of the written words possible. In the compound words, intercalated consonants or semi-vowels resulting from *sandhi* are distinctly shown as in *Oṇṭu-k-kuṭi*. Compound words are shown in their contracted forms generally; after the English transliteration of each word, the part of speech of the word is indicated in abbreviated form, according to the divisions of English grammar. The derivation is also given in most cases; and in many instances cognate words in the Dravidian languages are given in brackets. The compiling staff takes care to explain that these cognates have only a common Dravidian origin and that they make absolutely no suggestion that either the Tamil words are derived from the other languages or the reverse the case. The avowed object of the *Lexicon* is "to help foreign scholars in their study of Tamil;" and hence the English definitions and meanings of the words are all important and their accuracy and strict grammatical form will determine the reputation and usefulness of the whole work. The English definitions should be such as should be clear, concise and not capable

of being misunderstood. The synonyms given are the commonest in use, where many words or expressions have the same meaning. It may be mentioned, that in a number of instances the English meanings given are not as accurate in their connotation as they might have been made. For illustration we may quote *Oppâçâram* (p. 594) which bears different meanings, and all of which have not been fully explained; also the word *Kârṟu-vâkka* (p. 909) which is not as clearly explained as it might have been. Brief Tamil meanings or equivalents are given following the detailed English renderings; but in the latter parts of those under review more space has been given to the Tamil explanations of the different meanings of each word discussed. In the Tamil meanings given, as is usual, the best known among synonyms are used.

The apparatus of reference, which ought to have accompanied the first part of the first volume, was published along with the next part. It contains a key to the abbreviations of the authorities used and cited and to the words and terms abbreviated, a transliteration table, a list of the meanings of the signs used, particulars of works quoted in the *Lexicon* and the methods adopted in citing quotations. The abbreviations of quotations used denote further details of parts, chapter and verse with regard to the work or edition used. The one feature that is most valuable in the work is the practice of supporting meanings by appropriate quotations from standard and accepted works—the exact method of citing quotations being given in item No. VIII of the Reference Apparatus.

One may very well doubt the utility of mere English transliterations of the Tamil words, without the various phonetic pronunciations also given. But the diversity of such pronunciations is a great obstacle to their being included in all completeness. Foreign words like those absorbed from English, Portuguese, Urdu, Persian, etc., have also been included, particularly those which have become 'Tamilised'—the fact of Tamilisation being judged by the Editors and the Committee. Words with two forms appear in one or both the forms. Names of gods and persons, authors and works, which have become famous in history and literature have also been included. Proverbs in general currency, the peculiar meanings attached to compound words, botanical and technical, Latin and other terms are also given; italicised transliteration is given of Sanskrit and other foreign words.

The work, the first large part of which has thus been published, is a monument of patient and laborious, though very expensive, industry. It is, though not to the extent expected by optimistic minds, an improvement upon the comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of Miron Winslow published sixty-five years back, which contained upwards of 30,000 words and included the principal astronomical, mythological, botanical, scientific and official terms, besides the names of famous authors, poets, heroes and gods. A syndicate of scholars, both pandits of the orthodox type and men trained on western lines of criticism and collation, has been sitting at the work for a number of years, assisted by a supervising committee containing a large element of experts in linguistics, philology and the different literatures. The output in its quality may not be regarded as being commensurate with the labour, talents and expense absorbed in the work. The rate of progress, noticed frequently in the public press and elsewhere as being inordinately slow, may be a subject of secondary importance if the output should be very valuable and above criticism; for their quality will make up for lack of quantity. Within the limits set for the work, the standards set up and the work turned out should be judged on their own merits as well as by relation to methods and quality, in comparison with the great lexicons like those of other Rottler, Winslow, Brown and Kittel.

C. S. Srinivasachari.

Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, vol. XXV, Nos. 3-4, July-December, 1925. Hanoi, 1926.

Among several papers of outstanding interest in this issue the first is a detailed description, with text and translation, by Monsieur Louis Finot of twelve inscriptions found at Aṅkor, mostly dating from the 9th to the 13th century A.D., thus supplementing the work started by Barth in 1885 and continued by Bergaigne and Coedès. As might be expected of this eminent orientalist, the work of editing has been done in a thorough and scholarly manner; moreover it has been prefaced by an admirable Introduction in which are discussed the main features of the history of the period as ascertainable from the available epigraphical and other evidence.

Unfortunately the inscriptions discovered in this locality hitherto, numbering some fifty in all, leave us still in the dark as to the foundation of this wonderful old capital. The only definite record on this subject yet found is the important inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, found about 80 miles from Aṅkor (*BEFEO*, XV, ii, 89), which tells us that Yaśodharapura (the ancient name of Aṅkor Thom) was founded by King Yaśovarman (889—*c*. 910 A.D.) a devotee of Śiva, who erected in the centre of the city the temple then called Yaśodharagiri (the present Bayon) dedicated to the cult of the linga Devarâja. The investigations of M. Finot, it may be noted, have already necessitated a complete reconsideration of the views previously entertained as to the religious history of this celebrated shrine. Upon a fresh examination of the sculptures and surroundings he was led to the conclusion formulated in an article published in 1925, not only that the Bayon was originally a Buddhist temple, but that the city itself was placed under the protection of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara. It appears to him to be established that when the Bayon became transferred from the cult of Buddhism to that of Śiva, the great bulk at all events of the structure had been completed, including even the central massif, which

one might have been tempted to think had been built by Yaśovarman to enshrine the Devarâja-liṅga, and to crown as a Śaiva temple the structure commenced by one of his predecessors for the cult of Buddhism. He finds the Bayon to be Buddhistic "from top to bottom." M. Finot disposes of the arguments based upon the towers with four faces, which he had himself once suggested to be an architectural interpretation of a *caturmukha liṅga*, by pointing out that this feature is also to be found in temples that were indisputably Buddhistic, *e.g.*, at Bantăy Chmar, Bantăy Kdĕi, Ta Prohm and Ta Som. To Yaśovarman may very probably be assigned the responsibility for the iconoclastic disfigurement by hammer and chisel of the Buddhistic figures, which have been camouflaged into Brahmanical *ṛṣis* and otherwise. Who, then, was the original founder of the city ? M. Finot rejects Yaśovarman's two immediate predecessors—Indravarman, who adhered exclusively to Śaiva doctrines, and Jayavarman III, who was a Vaiṣṇava, and moreover reigned for but an insignificant period. He inclines to the view that it must have been Jayavarman II Parameśvara, " great conquerer and great builder," whose reign attained the extraordinary length of 67 years (802–869 A.D.). The Sdok Kak Thom inscription tells us that he came from Javâ to ascend the throne of Cambodia, that he founded and occupied four capitals successively, and that he finally established the cult of Devarâja in order to assert himself as a *cakravartin* sovereign, independent of Javâ, till then suzerain over Cambodia. The Javâ from which he came was, according to M. Finot, in all probability the Malay Peninsula, dependent at that time on the Sumatran kingdom of Śrîvijaya, the history of which from the latter half of the 7th to the 15th century A.D. has been so skilfully unveiled by the researches of M. Gabriel Ferrand (*l'Empire Sumatranais de Çrîvijaya*). That Aṅkor Thom does not figure among the capitals founded by Jayavarman II is explained by the fact that the author of the inscription wished it to be thought that Yaśovarman had established it.

In spite of the pre-eminence of Jayavarman II and the great length of his reign, not a single inscription dating from his sovereignty has hitherto been found; a fact which seems to suggest that the iconoclasm wrought under subsequent kings was not confined to images. The earliest epigraphical record dates from the time of Yaśovarman. It is greatly to be hoped that further exploration by such zealous and competent workers may yet lead to the discovery of other records that may elucidate the history of this old site.

Among the inscriptions now transcribed attention may be drawn to No. IV, which supplies further information as to the genealogy of Râjendravarman; No. X, which tells of an expedition of Jayavarman VII to Campâ, and of an invasion of Cambodia by the king of Campâ; and No. XI, which gives us the date of the accession of Jayavarman VII and the names of the four succeeding kings.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS, by JARL CHARPENTIER. Two lectures delivered at the School of Oriental Studies, 10th and 17th June, 1925, and published in its *Bulletin*.

These very important lectures on a subject of the first consequence to students of antiquity rescusitate the belief—once held to be settled—that the Indo-Europeans sprang from Central Asia, East of the Caspian Sea. Since that conclusion was arrived at, others have sprung up, ascribing the origin of the Indo-Europeans to various parts of Europe—Southern Russia being the most favoured locality. Professor Charpentier gives reasons for believing that the searcher has to fall back on Comparative Philology as the determining method of settling the question. Archæology has failed to show that the culture of very early times could have originated with one people only, whose racial and linguistic connections are known ; and History commences too late. It is on Comparative Philology, therefore, that Professor Charpentier concentrates his attention and his criticism of the various efforts of scholars.

With extreme caution he sets to work to establish the "names (p. 152) of natural phenomena, of animals, plants, artificial objects, etc., which " were " to be found in the original Indo-European language, and may consequently have existed in the names of the Indo-Europeans, " though " the results are not very far-reaching. But they are, according to my [Charpentier's] opinion, quite sufficient for allowing us to arrive at certain conclusion." He shows, by a consideration of the names that have come down in history, that, whosoever they were, the fathers of the Indo-Europeans lived in a mountainous country with a temperate climate, but they did not know the use of fish or shell-fish. They used the horse, however, for riding, and knew of the birch, willow and fir among trees, but had no knowledge of fruit-trees and vegetables. They probably could crush corn, and yet had no acquaintance with salt. This was because they probably lived chiefly on meat and milk, and thus led a nomadic life, being no agriculturists. They seem to have dressed in skins and woollen stuffs only, and these they got from animals. They dwelt in " house-urns " or in " dug-outs " under ground. They had bows and arrows and, oddly enough, good carts and wagons. They were in fact a nomadic people with considerable power of rapid movement.

Their religious ideas were undeveloped and their social institutions were patriarchal, the blood-feud, however being a well-developed institution. They had a cult of the spirits of their ancestors, which were nevertheless not usually malignant or blood-thirsty, and they worshipped the great powers of Nature, especially " the vault of heaven." They possessed neither temples nor idols, but worshipped their gods by simple flesh sacrifices and gifts spread-out on the grass."

Having enumerated such facts as the above, Professor Charpentier opines : " What has been said (p. 159) may still be sufficient to convey the

impression of a people living in a temperate climate where snow and ice were at times to be known, and surrounded by the animals which are still found in such a zone of the earth. Also the few trees which are proved by etymology to have existed in those surroundings—*viz.*, the birch, the willow and the fir tree—are such that are usually met with in countries with a rather severe climate." Keeping in mind that the Indo-Europeans were a nomadic people probably roaming over very large areas," Professor Charpentier states that their home "has to be looked for (p. 160) either in Asia or in Europe: no other continent could in earnest be taken into consideration, nor has this, to my knowledge at least, ever been done." Then, after considering the various parts of the Europeo-Asiatic continent, which have been held to be the original home of the Indo-Europeans, Professor Charpentier arrives at the conclusion that the only region containing the necessary qualifications lies in the Central Asian plains. "No part of Asia (p. 164) answers quite to this description, except the regions to the East of the Caspean Sea, which are generally called Central Asia, with the neighbouring plains of Turkestan, where formerly conditions of living were far easier than now-a-days. . . . They were probably near neighbours of the Mongolians, Huns, etc., tribes who led the same mode of life."

Professor Charpentier then considers the migrations of the people West, South-west and South, and also to the Eastwards. Here he has a remarkable passage worth quoting (p. 165): "Finally at the end of the third pre-Christian century, a Chinese Emperor had to begin the building of the famous wall, which was to protect his subjects from the inroads of the northern and western barbarians. It has been said, with a certain amount of truth, that the erection of this protective wall did strongly influence the later fates of the Roman Empire. For now the turbulent elements of the interior of Asia were driven to resort to the southern and western areas of expansion, and the result of their furious onslaughts were soon felt both in Irân, India and throughout the western world." The Professor then considers later migrations from the 2nd century B.C. onwards "a migration (p. 166) which spread like the ripplings of a wave over great parts of the Asiatic, and, at times, even the European Continent." Lastly he goes into the question of various other early migrations.

Personally, I am glad of these lectures, for I have always felt that the only safe assumption for the Aryan migrations into India and Europe was that they must have started from Central Asia, East of the Caspean. With that assumption as a base the argument is straightforward and comparatively easy. With the assumption that the original moving tribes came from somewhere in Europe—even from South Russia—the argument is obscured and difficult.

Professor Charpentier has apparently ruled Legend out of his purview as a possible support of his theory, apparently because the evidence available must clearly be literary and so too late. But legends—though necessarily now literary—refer back to the very earliest times, as they always relate fundamentally what the ancesters thought. I cannot but help thinking that, if one could go back far enough, they might help in solving the difficulty of such a question as that of Indo-European origins. Let me give an illustration. For years I have been investigating the widely spread belief that it is possible to attain immortality for the body by drinking of the well, pool, fountain or river of life. I can trace it to the earliest known Semitic and Babylonian times, but of course only after the peoples had become considerably civilised. I find it spread all over Europe and Asia as far as Central Asia and India, and also wherever the Jewish, Christian, Muslim or Hindu Religions have had influence. But it does not appear, from such evidence as I have so far, in China or in the countries dependent on Chinese religion, as distinguished from the forms of Buddhism there current and acquired from Central Asia and India. Now, if it be true, as has been asserted, that the Chinese came originally from Central Asia, then the above fact—assuming it to be correct and unassailable—would go to show that the original Indo-Europeans and the original Chinese were once —as Professor Charpentier infers—neighbouring nomads and racially separate tribes. It must be here remembered also that there is a fundamental difference in religious instinct, between the Indo-European and the Chinese. The Semitic and the Indo-European races are imbued with the idea of a universal God, but the Chinese have no such instinct. This fundamental instinct exists in spite of the ancestor-worship and the worship of Heaven, which is characteristic of both. It may be useful to investigate this point, which has struck the present writer forcibly whenever he has investigated the beliefs of tribes traceable to a common origin with the Chinese.

I observe that Professor Charpentier remarks (p. 158) that "it seems to be a legitimate conclusion that the Indo-Europeans had a cult of the spirits of their ancestors, though they did not, as a rule, consider the dead as malignant and blood thirsty beings, as is, *e.g.*, the case of the non-Aryan tribes of India." And again he says (p. 159) that the Indo-Europeans "worshipped the spirits of their dead ancestors, who were, at times, undoubtedly considered to be rather dangerous customers, but who were, on the other hand, never looked upon in the same way as that crowd of malignant and blood-loving ghosts that are haunting jungle and village over the greater part of India." In these remarks I heartily agree. Degrading practices, often put down by the unobservant to Hinduism as a religion, are in truth but superstitious grafts acquired from the primitive or surrounding non-Aryans or from non-Aryan converts to Hinduism—the eclectic nature of that religion rendering it peculiarly liable to such acquisitions.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE GÂYDÂṆṚ FESTIVAL IN THE SHAHABAD DISTRICT, BIHAR.

By C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.

A festival held in the month of Kârtik in which cattle play a leading part is widely prevalent in Northern India; the rites observed vary in different parts. A striking feature of the observances, at all events in Bihâr and in parts of Bengal, is that the cattle are incited to gore or worry to death a pig, or else they are made to chase a mock pig, made by stuffing a bag or blanket with chaff or straw. In these provinces it is essentially a festival of the Ahîrs, or cowherding folk, a caste which is now practically confined to Northern and North-Central India. The Abhîras, or Âbhîras, from whom they take their name, were in very early times settled in the West, particularly in the area extending from Gujarât to the Panjâb. According to Sir A. Baines,[1] "The leading tribes seem to have been of western origin, and are supposed to have entered India long after the Vedic Ârya." The author of the *Periplus* places Aberia inland from Surâṣṭra and the Gulf of Kacch. Ptolemy places it above Patalênê (*i.e.*, the delta of the Indus). Varâhamihira locates the Abhîras in the south-western and southern divisions. They were powerful in the very early days in the west, about Gujarât, and in the Satpura region; and later on, it would seem, in the mid-Gangetic basin as far north as the lower tracts of what is now Nepâl. One of the most peculiar features of the festival as observed in Shâhâbâd, and as described in the sequel below, is the eating of the pig after it has been killed. It is not a case of the wild boar, the flesh of which is relished by so many tribes and castes that are accustomed to the chase (among whom the Ahîrs, moreover cannot be classed): the pig in question is a village pig, the flesh of which is only eaten ordinarily by the most despised castes, regarded by all orthodox Hindûs as quite outside the pale, and between whom and the Ahîrs there is a wide gap. Is this feature of the observances, then, a relic from the distant past? The wide area over which this, or a closely related, festival is held seems also to point to a remote origin. Can any suggestion be made as to its provenance? Is it an offshoot of the widely-spread primitive belief in the fertilizing power of blood? Why has the pig been chosen as the (sacrificial ?) victim? Does it merely represent the wild animal that was once a serious danger to man and his crops? Why, further, are cattle selected to be the agents in the killing? These, and other, questions may be asked.

I have not been able so far to trace many published references to this festival. A few are quoted in the paragraphs below, as well as some of the most authoritative views on the status of the Ahîrs.

Francis Buchanan, in his statistical survey of the Gorakhpur district, compiled in 1813-14, makes the following reference to the Ahirs, in that district[2]:—"They are reckoned a pure tribe; but even Kayasthas will not drink water from their house, although any Brahman will employ them to carry his vessels filled with water. On the day of the Dewali, they eat tame pork; and on all occasions, such as are not of the sect of Vishnu, eat the wild hog. Their purohits are pure Brahmans".

Sherring writes[3]:—"Commonly the Ahirs are regarded as Sudras." On the other hand, he classes them among the 'Mixed Castes and Tribes.' Crooke[4], in his description of the Ahîrs in the (now) United Provinces says they are "all Hindus, but are seldom initiated into any of the regular sects . . . . They are served by Brâhmans of all the ordinary priestly classes."

Mr. R. V. Russell, in his very interesting account of the Ahîrs in the Central Provinces,[5] notes:—"Though the Ahîr caste takes its name and is perhaps partly descended from the

[1] Baines, *Ethnography* (*Grundriss* Series), p. 56.

[2] Martin's *Eastern India*, II, 467.

[3] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 334.

[4] *Tribes and Castes of the N.W.P. & O.*, I, 63.

[5] *Tribes and Castes of the C.P.*, II, 23.

Abhîra tribe, there is no doubt that it is now and has been for centuries a purely occupational caste, largely recruited from the indigenous tribes."

In Bihâr, the fact that their position in the social order has not been definitely established is clear from the discussions on the subject at conferences of the caste held from time to time in comparatively recent years. They have on several occasions claimed to be classed as Kṣatriyas, and entitled to wear the sacred thread. While at least on one occasion, at a conference held in the Bhâgalpur district some fourteen or fifteen years ago, it was resolved that the Ahîrs were not Śûdras, but Vaiśyas. Further to the east and south-east we meet, no doubt, with Ahîrs, or Goâlâs, as they are usually called in those parts, of obviously lower origin. In Bihâr proper, and more especially perhaps in the area to which the following account relates, the Ahîrs are ordinarily regarded as good Hindûs ; and they would warmly resent being called Śûdras. These Ahîrs as a general rule lead an orthodox life ; and, except on the occasion of this particular festival, I have never heard of their eating village pig. There are scores of proverbs in the Bihâr vernaculars referring to the Ahîr and his proclivities. The allusions are generally confined to his thieving propensities, his quarrelsomeness and his dullness of intellect, which are the traits most commonly assigned to him. There is no suggestion of his aboriginal descent. In the Bhojpur country the Ahîrs are chiefly famous for carrying a very long and heavy *lâṭhî* (bamboo stave) and for their addiction to theft. Their reputation has given rise to a well-known saying current in the vernacular, which may be translated thus :— " Don't go to Bhojpur. If you go, don't eat. If you eat, don't go to sleep. If you sleep, don't feel for your purse : if you do, don't weep [it will not be there !]."

John Christian, in his *Bihar Proverbs*, makes a reference[6] to the festival which is the subject of this paper, and the object of which, he writes, " is to make the cow dance." He spells the local name गैडार, as if it meant a 'row (or herd) of cows' ; but the correct spelling in the local dialect is गायडांड़. Risley, in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, also refers to a similar festival,[7] which he describes as follows :—" At the time of the Sankránti on the last day of Kártik, October-November, a pig is turned loose [*i.e.*, by the Goâlâs] among a herd of buffaloes, who are encouraged to gore it to death. The carcase is then given to Dosidhs to eat. The Goálás or Ahirs, who practise this strange rite, aver that it has no religious significance, and is merely a sort of popular amusement. They do not themselves partake of any portion of the pig." Risley's date for the festival, which is not connected with the *saṁkrânti*, is incorrect. Crooke would appear not to have observed the occurrence of this festival himself, but he refers to Risley's and Christian's accounts in his *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*,[8] and in his *Tribes and Castes of the N.W.P. & O.*,[9] respectively. In *Folk-Lore* for 1917, he refers to a *Madras Museum Bulletin* describing a ceremony in Southern India, when a pig is buried up to the neck in a pit at the entrance to the village, and all the village cattle are driven over its head. The practice appears to form part of a complex rite intended to propitiate Peddamma, possibly a chthonic deity, who controls cholera and small-pox. In vol. XV of the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University (pp. 201-03), reference is made to the practices followed by Goâlâs, and Kurmîs, in the Râjshâhî and Mânbhûm districts of Bengal, which would seem to be very similar to the Bihâr ceremonies.

The season of the year when the festival is held must also be noted. It is the time when the hard labour of ploughing and preparing the fields for the cold weather crops has ordinarily been finished.[10] In fact the ceremony was once explained to me as being of the nature of a

6 *Bihar Proverbs*, pp. 52-53.

7 *Tribes and Castes*, I, 290.

8 *Popular Religion and Folk-lore* (1896 ed.), II, 298.

9 *Tribes and Castes of the N.W.P. & O.*, I, 334.

10 Compare also the references to the pig as the embodiment of the corn spirit, and as a sacrificial victim in Sir J. Frazer's *Golden Bough* (*passim*).

treat given to the cattle after the completion of their toil in ploughing and harrowing the fields. However, though agricultural seasons largely govern the times for pilgrimages and other rites and ceremonies, the reasons for their observance exist independently of the seasons recognized as suitable for their performance.

Nowhere, perhaps, is this festival kept with greater zest and thoroughness than in the north of the Shâhâbâd district, the land of the Bhojpurîs, where the Ahîrs are numerically the strongest caste. I append an English translation of a description of the festival as held in this area, written in Hindî by a resident thereof—a highly educated and orthodox Hindû gentleman—in the hope that it may elicit further information as to the occurrence of similar or analogous practices in other parts of India, and perhaps evoke some suggestions as to the origin and significance of the custom.

Translation.

Gokrīṛā, Gāyḍāṇṛ or Gāydāṛh.

This festival is observed on the first day of the bright half of Kârtik.[11] The correct Saṁskṛt name is *Gokrîṛâ.*[12] Under this name the festival is in vogue in all parts of Bhâratavarṣa; but in Bihâr, and particularly in Bhojpur, it is called *gâyḍâṇṛ* or *gâydâṛh.* Early on that day the *annakûṭ*[13] feast is observed, and *gobardhan pûjâ*[14] is performed. After mid-day, *gopûjâ* having been completed, the *gokrîṛâ* feast is held, and the *gâyḍâṇṛ* commences. This festival is kept with great enthusiasm by the Gwâlâs or Ahîrs. It is generally understood to be a festival peculiar to this caste; but all the Hindûs take part in it. At noon on that day cakes made of pulse and rice-milk are eaten. In the Gwâlâs' houses ordinary sweetmeats (*amarpîṭhâ*)[15] are cooked. About mid-day all the Gwâlâs, having eaten and drunk plentifully, take big, red, polished sticks and turn out their cows and buffaloes, after gaily bedecking them, each desiring that his cow or buffalo, as the case may be, should look the best. In the way of an exhibition of cows and buffaloes the sight is a very pretty one, and spectators attend in large numbers to look on. After they have assembled on the ground they purchase and bring a pig, and, tying a rope to it, drag it backwards and forwards about the ground, and incite the cows and buffaloes to gore it with their horns. Any cow or buffalo that horns it, is praised, and the owner thereof also is cheered. The timid cows do not attempt to attack the pig, but seeing it, turn tail and run. Then the Gwâlâs seize hold of these cows (डांड़ पकड़कर) and force them to attack the pig with their horns. Perhaps it is on this account that the name *gâyḍâṇṛ* has been applied to the festival[16]. In short, on this day the Gwâlâs make their cattle hunt a pig.

In the end, when the pig is killed, the Gwâlâs cook its flesh and eat it. They drink liquor and become intoxicated, and sing and play with much merriment. The Gwâlâs generally keep this festival for a week, and go round singing *birhâ* and *lorakī.*[17] They go to the door of the proprietor of their village and to the houses of other important persons, and play single-stick, leap about and dance, and disport themselves generally. The village proprietor and other big men give them presents.

This feast is observed in almost every district of Bihâr, but more particularly in the Shâhâbâd, Gayâ, Sâran and Champâran districts[18]. It is essentially a festival of the Ahîrs, during which their cows and buffaloes are turned out gaily adorned. In places where Vaiṣṇavas are predominant, and at centres of pilgrimage, such as Ayodhya, Brindâban, Mathurâ, etc., a dark-coloured blanket is made into the shape of a pig and stuffed with chaff; and this is used for the purposes of the *gokrîrâ* or *gâyḍâṇṛ*, as Vaiṣṇavas abstain from taking life. In many places this practice is followed.

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[11] The Hindi month of Kârtik includes the period from about the middle of October to the middle of November. The bright half is the second half of the month.

[12] *Gokrîṛâ* means "cow sport."

[13] A festival kept on the day following the *Divâlî* (which is held on the last day of the dark fortnight of Kârtik.)

[14] See Crooke's *Rural and Agricultural Glossary, s. v.* Gobardhan parva.

[15] *Amarpîṭhâ* literally means "sweetmeat of immortality." *Pîṭhâ* is a well-known sweetmeat.

[16] डांड़ here means the 'spine' or 'backbone', which is held just above the root of the tail.

[17] *Birhâ* is the name of a special class of song sung by the cowherd caste. As the name indicates, it is frequently a love-song about "separation." *Lorakî* is a song (or rather an interminable number of songs) about the doings of the famous Ahîr hero Lorik.

[18] I have since received an account of the observance of the festival between Monghyr and Jamalpur (Monghyr district) on the 1st November 1927, when a pig was killed in the same manner.

MEANING AND ETYMOLOGY OF PÛJÂ.

BY CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

IN a very illuminating and informing paper with the above heading contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* (May 1927, pp. 93–97 and June 1927, pp. 130–36) Prof. Jarl Charpentier has sought to determine the exact and original meaning of the word *pûjâ*, which is so very important not only from the linguistic view-point but also from the standpoint of modern Hinduism, the most important observance of which—in contrast to Vedic sacrifices—is the *pûjâ* of one god or another.

First of all, he mentions the different etymologies of the word as given by various scholars, such as Prof. Bartholomea, Horn, Gundert and Kittel, and accepts the one suggested by Gundert and Kittel, *viz.* from a Dravidian verbal root, which occurs in Tamil as *pûçu*–, and in Kanarese as *pûsu*, meaning ' to smear, to put on sticky substances, to daub, to paint.' He next supports this derivation by a comparison of the different rites performed by various peoples of India, ancient and modern, in their worship of gods (pp. 130–133), and comes to the conclusion that ' the washing of the idol (or the sprinkling of the *linga*) with water or with honey, curds, sugared water, etc., and the smearing or daubing it with certain ointments or oily substances' (p. 99) forms the characteristic feature of a *pûjâ* among the different rites and ceremonies gone through in the course of it, and hence this is the original sense in which the word was used.

But there seems to be ample room for doubt as to what should be considered the most important and characteristic function in a *pûjâ*. Is it the washing of the idol and the daubing of it with ointments, or is it the offering of flowers to it, that constitutes the essential thing in a *pûjâ* ? The balance of evidence may lead one to incline either way. As a matter of fact, the offering of flowers to a god is certainly regarded to be of as much importance as—if not more important than—the washing of the idol with water or anointing it—which latter function is undoubtedly of minor importance.

These considerations are specially important in view of another possible derivation of the word suggested by M. Collins in the *Dravidic Studies* Nos. I—III (University of Madras—1923), who connects the Sanskrit word with Tamil *pû* ' flower.'[1] In his opinion a slight modification of a hypothetical Tamil form *pû-cey* possibly gave rise to the Sanskrit nominal base *pûjâ*, which again passed into Tamil in the verbal form *pûci*, meaning ' to offer flowers '. This derivation, if established, will point to the offering of flowers as the original connotation of the word *pûjâ*, and hence the principal function in the observance.

Whatever be their value, these facts should be taken into consideration and given that attention which they deserve before arriving at a final decision with regard to the origin of this very important word. So, I beg to draw the attention of Prof. Charpentier to them—especially to the derivation suggested by M. Collins (and referred to by Dr. S. K. Chatterji in another connection in an article in *Modern Review*, June 1924, p. 668, which article Prof. Charpentier mentions in his paper), as it seems to have escaped his notice.

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[1] No. III, pp. 60–61, under remarks by M. Collins on *Sanskritic Elements in the Vocabularies of Dravidian Languages*, by S. Anavaratavinayakam, M.A., L.T.

VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

(*Continued from page* 102.)

RV. 1, 190, 4 : *asyá ślóko divī́'yate pṛthivyā́'m*
átyo ná yaṁsad yakshabhṛ́'d vícetâḥ |
mṛgấ'ṇâṃ ná hetáyo yánti cemấ'
bṛ'haspáter ahimâyâ̆n abhí dyû́'n ||

"His voice rushes in heaven and in earth. He, the supporter of the universe, the wise, raised (his shouts or chants) as a horse (does his neigh). These chants of Bṛhaspati go forth, like missiles on beasts, on the enemies who are as crafty as Ahi". *Yakshabhṛt*=the supporter of the universe, as Roth has correctly explained. It is the equivalent of the word *bhûtabhṛt* which is also used in the same sense ; compare Bh. Gîtâ, 9, 5 : *bhûtabhṛn na ca bhûtastho mamâtmâ bhûtabhâvanaḥ*, 'supporting the universe but not in it'; and Mahâbhârata, 13, 254, 16 (*Vishṇu-sahasranâma*) : *bhûtakṛd bhûtabhṛd bhâvaḥ*. I follow Geldner in supplying *ślokam* in the second *pâda* as object of the verb *yaṁsat*, and in understanding *abhí dyû́'n* (ought we not rather to read *abhídyûn* as one word ?) as 'attackers' or 'enemies'. After *imâḥ* in the third *pâda*, we have to understand *vâcaḥ*, *giraḥ* or other similar word meaning 'words ; chants', which Bṛhaspati as *purohita* makes use of on behalf of his patron (see Geldner, *l.c.*, p. 137). These rush on the enemies and destroy them, as the arrows of a hunter speed towards the beasts and destroy them ; compare p. 229 in vol. LVI above and the verse from Raghuvaṃśa cited there, namely, 1, 61 addressed by King Dilîpa to his *purohita* : *tava mantrakṛto mantrair dûrât praśamitâribhiḥ* | *pratyâdiśyanta iva me dṛshṭa-lakshya-bhidaḥ śarâḥ* "My arrows that are able to pierce such objects only as are visible to me are made to recede to the background by the *mantras* (spells) that have been employed by you, the *mantra*-maker. and that kill enemies from a far distance." Note here too the comparison of the *purohita's* spells with arrows shot at some object.

RV. 10, 88, 13 : *vaiśvânaráṃ kaváyo yajñíyâso*
'gníṃ devấ' ajanayann ajuryáṃ |
nákshatraṃ pratnám áminac carishṇú
yakshásyấ'dhyakshaṃ tavisháṃ bṛhántam ||

"The worshipful wise ones, the gods, engendered Agni Vaiśvânara, the imperishable, the ancient, mobile luminary (star), the supervisor of the universe, the mighty, the great" *Yakshasya adhayakşham* or 'supervisor of the universe' is equivalent to 'lord of the universe'; compare 1, 98, 1 : *vaiśvânarâsya sumataú syấma rấ'jâ nú kaṃ bhúvanânâm abhiśrī́'ḥ* | *itó jâtó víśvam idáṃ ví cashṭe vaiśvânaró yatate sû́'ryeṇa* "May we dwell in the favour of Vaiśvânara ; he is the king and the ornament of the world. Born from here Vaiśvânara beholds this world ; he competes with the sun". Vaiśvânara is thus, in this latter verse, a being different from the sun, while in the former (10, 88, 13) the words *nakshatram aminac carishṇu* seem to indicate that Vaiśvânara is identical with the sun.

Sat. Br. 11, 4, 3, 5 : *te haite brahmaṇo mahatî yakshe* | *sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatî yakshe veda mahad dhaiva yakshaṃ bhavati* ||

"These two (sc. *nâma* and *rûpa* ; name and form) are the two great beings (that is, forms, *ex*-istences) of Brahman. He who knows these two great beings (that is, forms, *ex*-istences) of Brahman, becomes himself a great being."

Kauśika-sûtra, 95, 1 : *atha yatraitâni yakshâṇi dṛśyante tad yathaitan markaṭaḥ śvâpado vâyasaḥ purusharûpam iti tad evam âśaṅkyam eva bhavati* ||

"When these evil beings are seen, as for instance, an evil being having the form of a monkey, or of a beast of prey, or of a crow, or of man, then the same apprehension is to be felt". The word *yaksha* here denotes 'evil being', and as monkeys, and crows can not, by themselves, be said to be evil beings, it follows that the words *markaṭaḥ* and *vâyasaḥ* denote evil beings having

that form; compare RV. 7,104, 18: *rakshásaḥ sám pinashṭana | váyo yè bhûtvî' patáyanti naktábhiḥ* "Crush the demons who fly about at nights after having become (*i.e.*, in the form of) birds." In other words, the word *rûpam* that forms the last element of the compound *purusharûpam*, connects itself with each of the foregoing words *markaṭaḥ, śvâpadaḥ* and *vâyasaḥ* forming the compounds *markaṭarûpam, śvâpadarûpam* and *vâyasarûpam* (which together with *purusharûpam* are in apposition with, and qualify, the word *yakshâṇi*). Now according to later grammatical usage the words *markaṭa, śvâpada, vâyasa* and *purusha* should be all joined together in a *dvandva*-compound and such compound be further joined with *rûpa*, forming a *shashṭhî-tatpurusha*, in order that the word *rûpa* may be connected with all these words—*dvandvânte śrûyamâṇam padaṃ pratyekam abhisṃbadhyate.* It is interesting to note that here *rûpa* connects itself with the words *markaṭa*, etc., though there is no *dvandva* or other compound, and the words stand singly in the nominative case.

Instead of *purusharûpam* (*yaksham*), the word *purusharakshasam* is used in the sentence that follows indicating that *purusharûpaṃ yaksham=purusha-rakshasam* or evil being in the form of man.

The word *yaksha* is found in Kh. 93 also of the Kauśika-sûtra, where too, it has the meaning 'evil being'.

AV. 11, 2, 24 : *túbhyam âraṇyá'ḥ paśávo mṛgâ' váne hitâ'*
haṁsâ'ḥ suparṇâ'ḥ śakunâ' váyâṁsi |
táva yakshâṃ paśupate apsv àntás
túbhyaṃ ksharanti divyâ' â'po vṛdhé ||

"For thee are the beasts of the jungle, the animals placed in the forests, the swans, the kites, the birds great and small; thy might, O Paśupati, (is felt) in the waters; the divine waters flow for thee, for thy enhancement (that is, for the enhancement of thy glory)". In other words, 'the beasts of the jungle, the birds of the air, and the rivers are subject to thy power and act as thou impellest them to act. Thy might is felt in the water, in the air, and on the earth'. This praise is addressed to Paśupati or Rudra as the supreme god; and the ideas expressed here belong to the same class as those expressed in RV. 1, 101, 3: *yásya vraté váruṇo yásya sû'ryaḥ yásyéndrasya síndhavaḥ sáścati vratám* ('in whose control is Varuṇa and the sun; whose, Indra's, ordinance is followed by the rivers'); *ibid*, 2, 28, 4: *ṛtáṃ síndhavo váruṇasya yanti | ná śrâmyanti ná ví mucanty eté* ('the rivers follow the ordinances of Varuṇa; they flow without tiring, without ceasing.'); AV. 13, 3, 2: *yásmâd vâ'tâ ṛtuthâ' pávante yásmât samudrâ' ádhi vi ksháranti* ('on account of whom the winds blow in season and the oceans flow'). Compare also Bṛhad. Up., 3, 7, 2 ff., *yaḥ pṛthivyâṃ tishṭhan, pṛthivîm antaro yamayati . . . . yo 'psu tishṭhan . . . . apâṃ antaro yamayati . . . . yaḥ sarveshu bhûteshu tishṭhan . . . . sarvâṇi bhûtâny antaro yamayati:* Kaṭhopanishat, 2, 6, 3: *bhayâd asyâgnis tapati bhayât tapati sûryaḥ.*

RV. 5, 70, 4 : *mâ' kásyâdbhutakratû yakshâṃ bhujema tanû'bhiḥ |*
mâ' śéshasâ mâ' tánasâ ||

"May we not, O ye (Mitra and Varuṇa) who have wonderful strength, feel, either ourselves or in our offspring or in our posterity, the might of any one". That is, 'may we not feel the weight of the might of any one; may we not be oppressed by the thought that any one is more mighty than we ourselves and able to injure us.' The expression *yakshaṃ bhujema* here is equivalent to the expression *dakshaṃ bhujema* in 4, 3, 13 which will be explained below.

RV. 7, 88, 6 : *yá âpír nítyo varuṇa priyáḥ sán*
tvâ'm â'gâṁsi kṛṇávat sákhâ te |
mâ' ta énasvanto yakshin bhujema
yandhí shmâ vípraḥ stuvaté várûtham ||

"Who, O Varuṇa, being thy own dear friend and comrade, has committed evil against thee —may not we who have sinned, feel, O mighty one thy (might); do thou that art wise offer

protection to thy praiser". We have to understand the word *yaksha* here in the third *pâda* as the object of the verb *bhujema*. The meaning is, 'may we not suffer from thy might, that is, feel the weight of thy displeasure, on account of the sins that we have committed.' The two ideas of *eno bhujema* (punishment for sins committed; compare 6, 51, 7; 7, 52, 2) and *yaksham bhujema* (see 5, 70, 4 above) are combined here in this one *pâda*.

As I have already observed (see p. 228 in vol. LV *ante*), the relative clause *ya âpir nityaḥ . . . tvâm âgâṃsi kṛṇavat* qualifies *vayam* (understood) that is the subject of *bhujema* in the third *pâda*; as the plural *vayam* is only the *pluralis majestaticus*, the use of the singular number in *yaḥ*, etc., in the first two *pâdas* and in *sturate* (fourth *pâda*) is not improper.

RV. 7, 61, 5 : *ámûrâ víśvâ vṛshaṇâv imâ' vâṃ*
ná yâ'sú citráṃ dádṛśe ná yakshám |
drúhaḥ sacante ánṛtâ jánânâṃ
ná vâṃ niṇyâ'ny acíte abhûvan ||

"O ye wise and strong (*sc.* Mitra and Varuṇa), for you (are) all these (praises) in which is seen neither ornament (brilliance) nor substance. The Druhs follow the iniquities of men; secrets did not remain unknown to you." The meaning of this verse is obscure. The author of the Padapâṭha reads the words *amûrâ* and *viśvâ* as duals and apparently construes them with the dual *vṛshaṇau* referring to Mitra and Varuṇa, a view that is accepted by Geldner, but from which M. Boyer dissents. I believe that the Padapâṭha is right in reading *amûrâ* (and referring it to Mitra and Varuṇa); at the same time, however, I believe that it is preferable to read *viśvâḥ* instead of *viśvâ* (dual) and construe it with *imâḥ*, after which, I follow Sâyaṇa in supplying the word *stutayaḥ* (*giraḥ*). The sense therefore of the first half-verse is, "These praises that we offer to you, O Mitra and Varuṇa are not polished and brilliant (do not contain *alaṅkâras*); nor is there substance in them, that is, there is no *artha-gâmbhîrya* or *bhâva-gâmbhîrya* in them; we pray that you will nevertheless take them to your heart and like them."

Citra here does not signify *âścarya* as Sâyaṇa and, following him, Geldner, think, but rather 'ornament', *alaṅkâra*; it has here the same sense as it has in books on rhetoric (*kâvyâlaṅkâra-śâstra*) and means *artha-citra* (*arthâlaṅkâra*) and *śabdacitra* (*śabdâlaṅkâra*). It is an often-expressed sentiment of later books that a *kâvya*, *stuti* or other composition in words should, in order to be acceptable, contain *alaṅkâras* and yield a good meaning; compare, for instance, Subhâshitaratnabhâṇḍâgâra, 5th edition, *Kâvyapraśaṃsâ*, verses 17 and 21, in praise of *alaṅkâra* and vv. 22, 24 in praise of *artha*, and the expression *bhâvâlankaraṇocitâgamavatî* in v. 44; compare also v. 51 in *ibid.*, p. 35 : *arthân kecid upâsate kṛpaṇavat kecit tvalaṅkurvate veśyâvat khalu dhâtuvâdina ivodbadhnanti kecid rasân* | *arthâlaṅkṛti-sadrasa-dravamucâṃ vâcâṃ praśastispṛśâṃ kartâraḥ kavayo bhavanti katicit puṇyair agaṇyair iha.* The first two *pâdas* of the above *mantra* too, give expression, as I think, to an idea in the same sphere; in them the poet confesses that his *stutis* cannot be said to be good, that they contain neither *alaṅkâra* nor *artha*. Contrast in this respect Kumârasambhava, 2, 3 : *atha sarvasya dhâtâraṃ te sarve sarvatomukham* | *vâgîśaṃ vâgbhir arthyâbhiḥ praṇipatyopatasthire*; Raghuvaṃśa, 4, 6 : *stutyaṃ stutibhir arthyâbhir upatasthe Sarasvatî*; Nîlakaṇṭhavijayacampû, 4, 16 : *iti stutibhir arthyâbhir dhyâyato niścalaṃ Śivam* | *aspandeshv asya gâtreshu paspande dakshiṇo bhujaḥ*. *Arthyâ vâk* means, as Mallinâtha explains, *arthayuktâ vâk*, speech or praise in which there is *artha* or *bhâva* or richness of content.

Compare further the opinion, cited and refuted by Viśvanâtha in his *Sâhityadarpaṇa* (p. 14; Nirṇayasâgara ed. 1902) : *sâlaṅkârau śabdârthau kâvyam.* Hence the authors of the Râmâyaṇa and Kâdambarî have said of these works that they have been constructed of 'brilliant' words and thoughts; see Râm., 1, 2, 42 : *udâra-vṛttârtha-padair manoramais tadasya Râmasya cakâra kîrtimân . . . . yaśaskaraṃ kâvyam udâradhîr muniḥ*; and Kâdambarî, v. 9 of introduction : *haranti kaṃ nojjvala-dîpakopamair navaiḥ padârthair upapâditâḥ kathâḥ.*

For the second half-verse, I have, with much hesitation, given the explanation of M. Boyer as this seems to be better than that proposed by Sâyaṇa ; I feel however very doubtful whether either of these is the correct explanation.

RV. 4, 3, 13 : *mâ' kásya yakshám̐ sádam íd dhuró gâ*
mâ' veśásya praminató mâ'péḥ |
mâ' bhrâ'tur agne ánṛjor ṛṇám̐ ver
mâ' sákhyur dákshaṃ ripór bhujema ||

"Do not at any time go to the sacrifice of any enemy (literally, injurer) or harmful neighbour or comrade ; do not get into the debt, O Agni, of our crooked brother ; may we not suffer from the power of our friend (turned into) enemy." I have already said above (p. 63) that the view of the Indian commentators that *yaksha* is derived from the root *yaj* is justified by the parallelism of the words *yaksha* and *yajña* in AV. 8, 9, 8. Sâyaṇa is therefore right in explaining *yaksha* here as *yajña,* sacrifice. The expression, 'do not get into the debt of our crooked brother', in the third *pâda*, too, means the same thing ; it means, 'do not go to the sacrifice of, and partake of the offerings given by, our deceitful brother' ; for the term 'debt' when used of a deity with reference to a human, means, as has been shown by Geldner, *l.c.*, pp. 133, 134, the debt that such deity owes to a human in return for the offerings that have been made and accepted ; compare also Bh. Gîtâ, 3, 11-12 in this connection. Similarly, the fourth *pâda* too, seems to refer indirectly to the same thing, to implore Agni not to attend the sacrifice of the friend who has turned inimical and make him rich and powerful in return. This verse therefore is one of the class that implore the deities not to favour by their presence the sacrifices of rival *yajamânas* ; see Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I, pp. 119 ff.; and Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, 1906.

RV. 7, 56, 16 : *átyâso ná yé marútaḥ sváñco*
yakshadṛ'śo ná śubháyanta máryâḥ |
té harmyeshṭhâ'ḥ śiśavo ná śubhrâ'
vatsâ'so ná prakrîḷinaḥ payodhâ'ḥ ||

"They who are swift like coursers, the youths, (*sc.* Maruts) made themselves bright (that is, decked themselves with ornaments), like people that (go to) see sacrifices ; they are radiant like children that are in mansions and frisky like calves that drink milk". Sâyaṇa explains *yaksha* here as *utsava,* festival. Now, *yaksha,* as we know, means 'sacrifice,' 'worship'; and many of the Soma-sacrifices were in fact grand festivals and are explicitly called or described by the name of *utsava* in the *Purâṇas* and *Itihâsas.*

Compare, for instance, the following passages : Srîmad-bhâgavata, 4, 3, 3 ff. :

Bṛhaspatisavaṃ nâma samârebhe kratûttamam || 3 ||
tasmin brahmarshayaḥ sarve devarshi-pitṛ-devatâḥ |
âsan kṛta-svastyayanâs tatpatnyaś ca sabhartṛkâḥ || 4 ||
tad upaśrutya nabhasi khecarâṇâṃ prajalpatâm |
Satî dâkshâyaṇi devî pitur yajña-mahotsavam || 5 ||
vrajantîḥ sarvato digbhya upadeva-varastriyaḥ |
vimânayânâḥ sapreshṭhâ nishka-kaṇṭhîḥ suvâsasaḥ || 6 ||
dṛshṭvâ sva-nilayâbhyâśe lolâkshîr mṛshṭa-kuṇḍalâḥ |
patiṃ bhûtapatiṃ devam autsukyâd abhy-abhâshata || 7 ||

Saty uvâca :

prajâpates te śvaśurasya sâmpratam
niryâpito yajña-mahotsavaḥ kila || 8*ab* ||
paśya prayântîr abhavânya-yoshito
'pyalaṅkṛtâḥ kântasakhâ varûthaśaḥ || 12*ab* ||

"(Daksha) began the sacrifice known as *Bṛhaspatisava* to which went in well-being all the Brahmarshis, the Devarshis, *pitṛs* and *devas*, and also their wives with their husbands,

Satîdevî, the daughter of Daksha, hearing of this from the chatter of those going in the sky, and seeing near her dwelling the wives of Upadevas (*i.e.*, of Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Kimpurushas, etc.) going with their husbands in *vimânas* from all directions, wearing fine clothes and necklaces and brilliant ear-rings and with eyes glancing here and there, said to her lord Śiva in excitement : "The grand festival-like sacrifice of thy father-in-law, the Prajâpati, has, I hear, commenced . . . . See also other women going there in troops, wearing jewels, in the company of their husbands, O thou that art birth-less."

Mahâbhârata, 2, 72, 1 : *tataḥ sa Kururâjasya sarva-karma-samṛddhimân* |
yajñaḥ prîtikaro râjan sambabhau vipulotsavaḥ ||

"Then was celebrated, O king, the sacrifice of the Kuruid king in which not one rite was wanting, the grand festival, causing delight".

Ibid., 14, 90, 43 : *evaṃ babhûva yajñaḥ sa Dharmarâjasya dhîmataḥ* |
taṃ mahotsava-saṅkâśaṃ hṛshṭa-pushṭa-janâkulam |
kathayanti sma purushâ nânâ-deśa-nivâsinaḥ ||

"Then took place that sacrifice of the wise Dharmarâja . . . . And this sacrifice that was like a great festival and was attended by many joyous and thriving people was extolled by people that lived in different countries (who were present at it)."

Read also the descriptions of the Râjasûya sacrifice celebrated by Yudhishṭhira given in the Mahâbhârata (2, 71) and Bhâgavata, 10, ii, ch. 75.

It is therefore not surprising if, in the circumstances, the word *yaksha*, meaning 'sacrifice' took on the meaning of *utsava* also, though as regards this verse, it is not necessary to assume this latter meaning for *yaksha*. The original meaning itself, namely, 'sacrifice,' fits in well with the context here. Compare the passage cited above from the Bhâgavata where it is said that the wives of Upadevas were going to the *yajña-mahotsava* wearing fine clothes and jewels in the company of their husbands, and the passage cited above (p. 58) from the Jñâtâdharmakathâ that describes the dress and jewels worn by *ugras*, *ugraputras*, Brâhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, etc., on days of Indramaha, Yakshamaha and similar other *utsavas*. See also the description of the city and the people on the occasion of *kaumudî-mahotsava* given in *Hemâdri*, *l.c.*, p. 352 and in Jñâtâdharmakathâ, p. 536. It becomes clear from all these that the people used to put on in former times (as in fact they do now) fine clothes and jewels when going to grand sacrifices or other *utsavas* ; and the Maruts are compared with such people because they always deck themselves with ornaments ; see 5, 54, 11 ; 5, 55, 6 ; 5, 60, 4, etc., and Macdonnell's *Ved. Mythology*, p. 79.

Śubhrâḥ, radiant, in *pâda* 3, means, as is indicated by the context, 'clean, speckless, spotless'; and *payodhâḥ vatsâḥ* means 'young calves'.

Gobhila-gṛhyasûtra, 3, 4, 28 : *âcâryaṃ saparishatkam abhyetyâcâryaparishadam îkshate yaksham iva cakshushaḥ priyo vo bhûyâsam iti* ||

"Approaching the teacher with his entourage, he looks at the teacher and entourage (saying) : 'May I be pleasing to your eye like a sacrifice.'" I have here, like Messrs. Boyer and Geldner, construed *cakshushaḥ* with *priya*. Oldenberg has, however, contended (RV. Noten, II, p. 45) that this is not right and that such construction would be proper only if the text had read *yaksham iva cakshusho vaḥ priyo bhûyâsam*. He therefore maintains that the correct meaning is, "May I be dear to you as the wonderful thing is to the eye" (as already noted above, *yaksha* = 'wonderful thing' for Oldenberg) and that the 'wonderful thing' here is the pupil of the eye! But, apart from the consideration that one fails to understand why the pupil of the eye should be called a 'wonderful thing' (the passage from *Śat. Br.* to which Oldenberg refers has no bearing at all in this connection) the idea of comparing a thing to the pupil of the eye in point of dearness is one that is foreign to Sanskrit literature.

As regards however the above-mentioned contention itself, it must be admitted that there is some force in it; but, as *yaksha* does not mean 'pupil of the eye' but 'sacrifice' (or perhaps *utsava*) here, it makes in effect no difference whether *cakshushaḥ* is construed with *priya* or not. In the first case, the meaning is, "May I be pleasing to your eye like a sacrifice". In the second case, the meaning is, "May I be pleasing to you as a sacrifice is pleasing to the eye"; and the expression 'may I be pleasing to you' here obviously means 'may I be pleasing to your eye'. In any case, therefore, the sense of the *mantra* is," May I be dear to your eyes as a grand sacrifice; may you have as much pleasure in looking at me as people have in looking at a grand sacrifice or other similar *utsava*". Compare RV. 7, 84, 3: *kṛtám no yajñám vidátheshu câ'rum kṛtám bráhmâṇi sûríshu praśastâ'* 'Make our sacrifice handsome (or beloved) amongst assemblies, make our hymns laudable amongst poets'; 10, 100, 6: *yajñáś ca bhûd vidáthe câ'rur ántamaḥ* 'May the sacrifice be handsome (or dear) and most cherished in the assembly'; and the expression *câ'rum adhvarám* in 1, 19, 1 and 5, 71, 1. See also Mahâbhârata, 14, 90, 43, cited above from which we learn that the people of all countries flocked to see the sacrifice celebrated by Yudhishṭhira and 2, 72, 1 in *ibid.* where the epithet *pritikara* is applied to the sacrifice.

Compare also *ibid.*, 2, 71, 44-45:

lokesmin sarva-viprâś ca vaiśyâḥ śûdrâ nṛpâdayaḥ |
sarve mlecchâḥ sarvajanâs tv âdi-madhyântajâs tathâ || 44 ||
nânâdeśa-samudbhûtair nânâjâtibhir âgataiḥ |
paryâpta iva lokoyaṃ Yudhishṭhira-niveśane || 45 ||

"All the Brâhmaṇas in this world and all Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas and Śûdras, all Mlecchas, and all people of all castes, the highest, lowest and middle castes, (were there). From the people, born in different countries and of different castes, that were present there, it seemed as if the whole world was contained in the dwelling of Yudhisṭhira"; and *ibid.*, 2, 71, 16:

Jambûdvîpo hi sakalo nânâjanapadâyutaḥ |
râjann adṛśyataikastho râjñas tasmin mahâkratau ||

'The whole of Jambûdvîpa with all its different countries, O king, was seen assembled at one place in the grand sacrifice of that king'. These grand sacrifices were thus so beloved that the people used to flock to them.

I take the word *âcâryaparishadam* as a *dvandva* compound meaning 'the teacher and his entourage'.

AV. 11, 6, 10: *dívaṃ brûmo nákshatrâṇi bhû'miṃ yakshâ'ṇi párvatân* |
samudrâ' nadyò veśantâ's tê no muncantv áṁhasaḥ ||

"We praise the sky, the constellations of stars, the earth, the trees, and the mountains. The oceans, rivers and ponds—may they free us from evil." The word *yakshâṇi* here has been explained as *Yakshas* followers of Kubera) by M. Henry (*Les Livres X, XI et XII de l' Atharvaveda*, pp. 118 and 155) and Prof. Bloomfield (*Hymns of the Atharva-veda*, p. 161) and as 'Naturwunder und Naturschönheiten wie die grossen Bäume" by Geldner (*l.c.* p. 143). Geldner's explanation is almost correct, but the way by which he arrives at it is not, in my opinion, the proper way. *Yakshâṇi* signifies trees here not because *yaksha* means 'Wunder', *citra*, but because the trees are here regarded as the abode of *yakshas* or superhuman beings.

I have said above (p. 59) that the temples dedicated to Yakshas had the name of *caitya* also. This name, *caitya*, it may be remarked, is applied to trees also, to trees that are well-grown and rich in foliage and are regarded as being the abodes of superhuman beings; cp. Trikâṇḍaśesha, 2, 4, 2: *caityo devatarur devâvâse karabha-kuñjarau*: Mahâbhârata, 12, 68, 44f. *caityânâṃ sarvathâ tyâjyam api patrasya pâtanam* || 44 || *devânâm âśrayâś caityâ yaksha-râkshasa-bhoginâm* | *piśâca-pannagânâṃ ca gandharvâpsarasâm api* | *raudrâṇâṃ caiva bhûtânâṃ tasmât tân parivarjayet* || and also the *Mahâbhârata* verse given in 1, 49, Hiḍimbavadha in Bopp's

Ardschuna's Reise zu Indra's Himmel. The name *caitya* thus is applied to a tree for the same reason that it is applied to a temple—namely, because the tree is, like the temple, the abode of a *yaksha, bhûta* or other supernatural being and is thus holy and deserving of worship. The same is the case with the word *yaksha* also ; this name is applied to temples as also to trees, that are the abodes of *yakshas, bhûtas* or similar superhuman beings and are thus holy and deserving of worship. I have cited above (p. 59) instances of the name *yaksha* denoting temples; this verse is an instance of the word *yaksha* denoting trees.

This closes the list of passages where the word *yaksha* (neuter) occurs. M. Boyer however is of opinion that this word *yaksha* is found, further, (as a component of the word *yakshya*) in RV. 8, 60, 3 also : *ágne kavír vedhâ' asi hótâ pâvaka yákshyaḥ* I *mandró yájishtho adhvarêshv î'dyo víprebhiḥ śukra mánmabhiḥ* and has explained *yakshya* there as 'having a marvellous form'. As he has himself observed, however, (*l.c.*, p. 394) the expression *hótâ pâvaka yákshyaḥ* in 8, 60, 3 is parallel to *agníḥ pâvaká î'ḍyaḥ* in 3, 27, 4, to *śúciḥ pâvaká î'ḍyaḥ* in 7, 15, 10, and to *śúciḥ pâvaka vándyaḥ* in 2, 7, 4 ; and since the word *yaksha* itself is, as has been shown above, derived from the root *yaj*, there is not the least doubt that *yakshya* comes from *yaj* 'to worship'. I believe therefore that the verse means : "Thou, O Agni, art the wise one, the worshipper, and the adorable *hotṛ*, O purifier ; thou art dear, the most capable in sacrificing, praised in sacrifices, O brilliant one, with hymns by priests."

The meanings of *yaksha* therefore are : 1. worship, object of worship, sacrifice (and perhaps *utsava*, festival). 2. (*a*) being (concrete), beings in the collective, the creation, universe, world ; a particular class of superhuman beings ; evil beings ; (*b*) being (abstract) ; reality, essence, principle, substance, virtue, power, might. The meanings enumerated under 2. are those of the word *bhûta* which is a synonym of *yaksha* and of *sattva* which is a synonym of *bhûta* ; they seem to be *rûḍhi* meanings, while those enumerated under 1 are clearly *yogârthas*.

It becomes apparent from what has gone above that *yaksha* masculine has the same relation to *yaksha* neuter as *bhûta* masculine bears to *bhûta* neuter. *Bhûta* neuter has a large number of meanings (see above ; see also Apte, s.v., and PW.) including those of 'being (concrete), a class of superhuman being ; evil being ;' while *bhûta* masculine has these meanings only and no other. Similarly *yaksha* masculine too means the same, namely, 'being (concrete), superhuman being, evil being' while *yaksha* neuter signifies these things, and also, many other things in addition. Similar too, it may be noted, is the relation of *sattva* masculine to *sattva* neuter ; the masculine word signifies 'being (concrete), not-human being, (and not 'superhuman being' only ; *sattva* is used of animals also), 'evil being' while the neuter word has these as well as other significations.

This explains the use of the word *yaksha* masculine in Buddhist literature in contexts where the usual meaning of '*guhyaka*' or 'follower of Kubera' is inapplicable, and where therefore the translators have in some cases felt perplexed. Thus, in *Saṃyutta Nikâya*, III. 2.25 (and elsewhere too ; see Index to the Transl. of *Sam. Nik.* in *SBE.*, vol. 10), Mâra (who is not a *guhyaka* or follower of Kubera) is called a *yakkha* ; in the *Milindapañha*, IV. 4. 32 (p. 202), the term *yakkha* is used in connection with Devadatta and the Bodhisatta who were at that time (see *Jâtaka-story* No. 457 ; vol. IV, pp. 100 ff.) born as *devaputtas*. Similarly, in the translation of this book (*SBE.* vol. 35, p. 289, n. 2), Prof. Rhys Davids has observed that 'this is by no means the only instance of the term *yakkha* being used of gods'. In the same way, Prof. Kern has noted (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 59, n. 9) that the epithet *yakkha* is applied sometimes to Indra (*e.g.*, in *Majjh. Nik.* I, p. 251) and the Buddha (f. i. in *ibid.*, I, p. 386 : *âhuṇeyyo yakkho uttamapuggalo atulo*) and that it is used of *devaputtas* in *Saṃ. Nik.*, I, p., 54. [44] The expression *yakkhassa suddhi* too is found used in *Saṃ. Nik.*, III, 4, 25 and IV, 11, 14-15 :

[44] Similarly Otto Franke in his translation of parts of the *Dîghanikâya*, has observed on p. 94, note 6, that the word *Yakkha* is used occasionally to signify *devas* also.

ettâvat' aggaṃ pi vadanti h' eke yakkhassa suddhiṃ idha paṇḍitâse which Fausböll has translated (*SBE.*, vol. 10, p. 167) as : " Thus some (who are considered) wise in this world say that the principal (thing) is the purification of the *yakkha* ", without however saying anything as to what is intended by the ' purification of the *yakkha*.'

In the light of what has been said above about the meaning of the word *yaksha*, it is easy to see that this word means ' evil being ' when it refers to Mâra. When used in connection with *devaputtas*, it means in all probability, ' superhuman being ', while when used of Indra and the Buddha, it is probable that it signifies, as has been suggested by Kern (*l.c.*), ' a being to be worshipped or a mighty being '—a meaning that combines in itself the two different significations of ' being (concrete) ' and of ' worship ' or ' might ' (see p. 230 in vol. LV *ante*). The expression *yakkhassa suddhi* which is equivalent to *bhûtasya śuddhi* or *bhûta-śuddhi* is somewhat ambiguous. In Tântrik practice, the term *bhûtaśuddhi* signifies the cleansing or purification of the *bhûtas* or elements (' earth ', ' water', ' fire,' etc.), that make up the body of the worshipper, and is one of the many preliminary acts that precede and lead up to the worship proper of the chief deity ; see *Principles of Tantra* (II, pp. 365 ff.) by A. Avalon, pp. 41ff., of *Mantramahârṇava*, ch. 8 of *Devî-bhâgavata*, etc. ; compare also *Râmatâpanyupanishat*, 5, 1 : *bhûtâdikaṃ śodhayed dvârapûjâṃ ca kṛtvâ padmâdyâsanasthaḥ prasannaḥ* " (The worshipper) should cleanse the elements (of his body) etc., then after worshipping the gates, assuming the *padmâsana* or other posture, with calm mind . . . . ". I feel however doubtful if it is this Tântrik practice that is referred to by the *Saṃ. Nik.*, the more so, as this is a preliminary act to which not much importance is attached. And I am inclined to believe that the *bhûtaśuddhi* mentioned here refers perhaps to the cleansing or purification of the *bhûta*—being or self, through the eradication of what Âpastamba calls *bhûtadâhîyâ doshâḥ* ' blemishes or vices that sear, that is, destroy, the being or self,' consisting of anger, elation, covetousness, etc.; see *Âpastamba-dharmasûtra*, 1, 23, 5. By the eradication of these through *yoga*, says Âpastamba, the wise man attains ' security (*abhaya*)'—an expression which is explained by Haradatta as *abhayaṃ moksham*, ' the liberation where there is no more fear '; compare, *ibid.*, 1, 23, 3 : *doshâṇâṃ tu nirghâto yogamûla iha jîvite* | *nirhṛtya bhûtadâhîyân kshemaṃ gacchati paṇḍitaḥ* " In this life, the destruction of vices (is to be accomplished) by means of *yoga* ; after getting rid of the vices that sear the being, that is, the self, the wise man attains security". Compare also *ibid.*, 1, 23, 6 : *tâny anutishṭhan vidhinâ sârvagâmî bhavati* " He who practises these (*yogas* that eradicate the *bhûtadâhîya-doshas*) according to rule, attains the All ". A third interpretation also is possible of the term *yakkhasya suddhi* ; *yakshaśuddhi* or *bhûtaśuddhi* or ' the purification of the being (self) ' may be understood as the purification of the being or *sattvaśuddhi* that is spoken of in Ch. Up., 7, 26, 2 : *âhâra-śuddhau sattva-śuddhiḥ sattva-śuddhau dhruvâ smṛtiḥ* | *smṛtilambhe sarvagranthînâṃ vipramokshaḥ* | *tasmai mṛditakashâyâya tamasaḥ pâraṃ darśayati bhagavân Sanatkumâraḥ* " When the food becomes pure, the being (*sattva* ; according to Śankara, this denotes *antaḥkaraṇa* here) becomes pure ; when the being becomes pure, an unfailing memory (will be established) ; by the attainment of memory, all knots are severed ; and to him whose impurity (*kashâya*) is (thus) overcome, Lord Sanatkumâra will show (the Brahman) beyond the darkness ". As the *Saṃ. Nik*, says nothing more about *yakkhassa suddhi*, of the causes which lead up to it or of the effects which this leads to, it is not possible to determine which of these three ideas was intended by the author ; perhaps, it is the second of those mentioned above.[45]

(*To be continued.*)

[45] This article was written in 1924 and set in type before March 1926. Hence I have been unable to make any reference here to Dr. Hillebrandt's article (pp. 17—23) on this word in *Aus Indiens Kultur : Festgabe Richard von Garbe* that was published in 1927.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page* 131.)

"General Taylor asked the authorities at Paṭiâlâ, Jînd, and Nâbhâ six questions, *viz*:—

(1) The political condition of the coinage.
(2) The nature, title and character of the coinage.
(3) The annual outturn of the establishment and value of the coinage as compared with that of the British Government.
(4) The process of manufacture and any particulars as to the artificers employed.
(5) The arrangement for receiving bullion and the charges (if any) levied for its conversion into coin.
(6) The extent of the currency.

"Paṭiâlâ, as might be expected, gave the best answers; and as regards the first question, we may pass over all the replies, as recapitulating what has been already written herein, except to note that in 1857 Paṭiâlâ very nearly succeeded in ousting her old coinage for a modern English rupee on the plan that Alwar adopted later, and as Mindôn Min of Burma succeeded in doing for his country about the same time. Passing on, we find that the Paṭiâlâ rupees are called Râjashâhî, the Jînd rupees Jîndiâ, and the Nâbhâ rupees simply Nâbhâ.

"Only silver, and occasionally gold, is coined. The Paṭiâlâ rupee weighs 11¼ *mâshas* of pure silver and is of the full value of a rupee. The weight of the Jînd rupee is the same, but its value is only about 12 *ânâs* (¾ rupee). The Nâbhâ rupee is also of the same weight and is valued at 15 *ânâs* ($\frac{15}{16}$ rupee).

"The Paṭiâlâ *mohar* is a valuable coin, being 10¾ *mâshas* of pure gold. Jînd does not coin gold, but the Nâbhâ Government sometimes strikes a *mohar* of 9¾ *mâshas* of pure gold.

"In none of these States is there any regular outturn of coinage. Special occasions and sometimes economical necessities oblige the mint to become active by fits and starts. In fact the moneyers only work when 'necessity drives.' In Jînd and Nâbhâ, royal marriages and great state functions are practically the only occasions when money is coined in any quantity.

"Jînd apparently keeps up no establishment for its mint, but Paṭiâlâ and Nâbhâ do so. The Paṭiâlâ establishment consists of a superintendent, a clerk, two assayers, one weigher, ten smiths, ten moneyers, four refiners, and one engraver. The Nâbhâ establishment is on a smaller scale, *viz.*, one superintendent, one assayer, one smelter, one refiner, and one smith. The refining is carefully performed in both cases, and the silver and gold kept up to standard.

"Jînd has never received bullion for coining, but Paṭiâlâ receives both silver and gold, and Nâbhâ silver. For silver Paṭiâlâ charges the public 1$\frac{1}{16}$ per cent., and for gold Rs. 24 per 100 coins, or 1⅛ per cent. Nâbhâ charges less, only ⅛ per cent. for coining silver.

"Jînd rupees are current only within the State, but the Paṭiâlâ coins find currency both in the State and in its immediate neighbourhood in some quantity; while only a few Nâbhâ coins find their way outside the state.

"The Mâler-Kôṭlâ mint issues its coins apparently on precisely the same lines, the rupee going by the name of the Kôṭlâ rupee. Extensive frauds on the part of the mint masters, twice detected of late years [in 1878] in fraudulently alloying the silver, has depreciated the value of this rupee to 12 *ânâs* (¾ rupee).

"It is also very interesting to watch the steady depreciation in weight of the coins of the successive chiefs of Mâler-Kôṭlâ in connection with the general theory of the evolution of coins. Thus :—

	weight of coin			
'Umr Khân, 1768–78	9	*mâshas*	4	*rattis*.
Amîr Khâṅ, 1821–45	9	,,	2	,,
Maḥbûb 'Alî (Sûbê) Khâṅ, 1845–1859	8	,,	4	,,
Sikandar 'Alî Khâṅ, 1859–1871	8	,,	2	,,
Ibrahîm 'Alî Khâṅ, 1871 to date [1878]	8	,,	1	,,

"No wonder the Khâṅsâḥib 'Inâyat 'Alî Khâṅ in the passage just quoted remonstrates against the practices of the Kôṭlâ mint.

"The present writer, as has been already noted, had the good fortune some five years ago [1884] to be escorted over the Paṭiâlâ Mint, and to have been given an opportunity of noting what occurred.

"The Mint is an ordinary Panjâbî Court-yard, about twenty feet square in the open part, entered by a gateway leading into a small apartment doing duty as an entrance hall, the remainder of the courtyard being surrounded by low open buildings opening into it. These buildings, which looked like the 'rooms' of a *sarai*, are the workshops."

The method of coining in this very primitive mint was described as follows :

"I examined into the modern system of coining at Paṭiâlâ, in the hope of learning something as to the ancient methods, as it is to be observed that the modern Paṭiâlâ, Mâler-Kôṭlâ, Nâbhâ, and Jînd coins have all the appearance of those of 1,000 years ago, and of being made in precisely the same way.

"The silver, after being roughly assayed, is cast into small bars (*renî*) by being run into iron grooved moulds. The melting is done in very small quantities in little furnaces improvised for the occasion. When the bars are cold they are cut up by a hammer and chisel into small weights or *gelrâs*, and weighed fairly accurately in small balances. These *gelrâs* are afterwards heated and rounded by hammering into discs (*mutallîs*), and again weighed and corrected by small additions or scrapings. After this the disc is handed over to the professional weighman or *wazankash*, who finally weighs and passes it. It is then stamped by hammering, being placed between two iron dies placed in a wooden frame, the lower side (reverse) is called *pâîn*, the upper (obverse) is called *bâlâ*. The dies are very much larger than the coins, so that only a portion of the inscription can come off, and the coiners are not at all careful as to how much appears on the coin, provided the particular *mark* of the reigning chief appears. Is not this precisely what occurred in days of old ? It is to be noted that the inscription on the Paṭiâlâ coins has never altered since Nâdir Shâh permitted the chiefs to coin in 1751, the only difference being in the *marks* of the chiefs on the coins. All the coins have been showing *jalûs* 4, or "the year of the reign 4," for more than 100 years.

"The only thing that the moneyers look to is to try and make the particular *mark* of the reigning chief appear. If they do not succeed, it does not matter much.

"Griffin in the same work, pp. 313ff., has a long note on the mints set up by the Panjâb States at Paṭiâlâ, Jînd and Nâbhâ under a *farmân* of A.D. 1772 of the Emperor Shâh Âlam. And there is further valuable information on Panjâb coinage at Kapurthala in notes attached to pp. 505 and 510."

In the same volume of the *Indian Antiquary* I appended a long footnote to p. 278 on the *Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Russian Archæological Society* relating to the find of a hoard of Bulgarian coins in 1887. This footnote is pertinent to the present enquiry and so I give it here in full :

"There had been already an attempt to coin money among the Mongols in the time of Changêz Khân [Tiesenhausen].

"The above abstract has much interested me because I think I can throw light on its subject. A paper will be shortly published in this *Journal* illustrating my collection of the coins of the modern Panjâb Native Chiefs.[62] All these coins are now in the British Museum. The modern Panjâb Native Chiefs who are entitled to coin money are Paṭiâlâ, Jînd, Nâbhâ and Mâler-Kôṭlâ. They obtained the right in the last quarter of the XVIIth century, originally from Aḥmad Shâh Abdâlî (Durrânî) Afghân conqueror of Dehlî. Paṭiâlâ, Jînd and Nâbhâ are Sikhs: Mâlêr-Kôṭla Afghân. They all coined as independent Chiefs, and used the coin of Aḥmad Shâh of his fourth year, *i.e.*, of A.D. 1751, exactly as it stood. *From that day to this* there has been no change in the die beyond a mark, as the reigning Chief's special mark or crest. A gold coin struck for me at the mint at Paṭiâlâ in 1884 in my presence, bore the date 1751, *i.e.*, year 4 of Aḥmad Shâh.

"The only attempt to vary the die has been made by Nâbhâ, which State dates its coins by the Vikrama Saṁvat on the obverse, and uses the couplet adopted by the Sikhs of Lâhôr in the days of Aḥmad Shâh. The reverse bears the date, '*Sanh-i-jalûs* 4.'

"I once had a set of gold *mohars* from the Râjpût (Hindu) State of Jaipur, purporting to have been struck during each year of Bahâdur Shâh, the last emperor of Dehli (1838–1857 A.D.). But Jaipur was at no period of Bahâdur Shâh's reign under his suzerainty, but was more under British suzerainty than any other Râjpût State. The fact is that the Râjâs used the Dehlî coin as a convenience. The legends contained no record of real historical or political facts.

"In a letter to me, the late Mr. Gibbs, a good authority on such subjects, said that the same adaptation of anachronistic coins to local uses was the universal rule among the native states in Kachh.

"In Burma King Mindôn Min (1852-1878 A.D.) established a mint, inderting on London and Calcutta for his dies. This was about A.D. 1870, but his earlier coins all bear date, Burmese era 1214=A.D. 1852. All in Mandalay tell me that Mindôn Min used the peacock as his crest, and his son, Thibaw Min (1878-1885 A.D.) whom the English deposed, used the lion (or dragon). But I have 'lion' coins dated 1214=A.D. 1852. I am told by a man, who was once employed in the mint, that this was because 'the Burmans would sometimes use the reverse die of one coin with the obverse die of another.' It is also doubtful whether the Panjâb Chiefs really coined before Saṁvat 1820 = A.D. 1763, though their coins bear date A.D. 1751.

"The coins of the Buddhist kings of Arakan bore Muhammadan titles and designations, and even the *kalima*, long after the country ceased to be connected with the Muhammadan Kings of Bengal (Phayre's *History of Burma*, p. 78). The history of the early British coinage in India strongly exhibits the same falsification of facts, and is described by Prinsep as an 'unhappy tissue of misstatements as to names, places, and dates' (*Useful Tables*, Pt. I, p. 4).

"The inference therefore is that anachronisms are the rule, not the exception, in the coinage of Minor Oriental Mints."

In editing some of my father's travels (*Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkhim and Nepal*, 1887, vol. II, pp. 75-76) I found the following passage: "In the afternoon we went to see the Mahârâjâ's mint [at Srînagar, Kashmîr] on the banks of the Nahari Mar. The building and the whole workshop were very rude. The process of coining was as follows: The silver and the alloy of base metal were first melted and fused. A piece of the required weight was then separated, made as nearly round as a rough hand could make it, and struck with a hammer over a die. Thus was a Rupee, worth about 10 annas of the East India Company's money, produced. Precisely this same process is followed to this day at the Paṭiâlâ and other mints of the native States of the Panjâb."

In 1891 there is an informing article in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* (vol. XXXIX, No. 2022, Aug. 21, pp. 775ff.) on the *Mints of Hindustan in the 16th Century* by Arthur Wingham.

[62] That is, the article just quoted.

In the course thereof he states (p. 778) that Prof. Roberts-Austen referred in 1884[63] to "the old custom of slicing circular ingots to obtain the discs," and in connection with the Emperor Akbar he points out that it is still adopted in the mint at Kâbul, "which it will be seen was one of the four chief localities for producing the coins of Hindustan in Akbar's time."

The passage quoted is as follows, and is of great interest as showing that the Indian Mint system was practically that of Kâbul, and until quite modern times that of Europe and England :

" It is probable that the use of cast globules was followed by that of cast cylindrical rods of approximately the diameter of the coin; pieces cut transversely from these cylinders would, of course, be circular and could be easily adjusted in weight. There is no reason to believe that this method long survived in the English mints, but it is still practised in India, into which country it was probably introduced previous to the invasion by the Greeks. The beautiful coins of the Emperor Akbar were struck by this method. That it is still retained in India is shown by the following description of the process, as conducted at the Kâbul Mint.[64] 'Silver, refined by cupellation, is melted with an equal amount of English rupees, and the mixture is ladled by hand into moulds, which give it the shape of flattened bars, twelve inches long. These bars are taken to a shed to be annealed, and are, by hammering, given the form of slender round rods. These rods are drawn through a perforated iron plate to give them a uniform circumference, after which they are cut by a chisel into short lengths or slices, of a size requisite to form the future rupee, each of which slices is carefully weighed. Those which are too light have a fragment of metal inserted in a notch, which is then closed up by hammering. The pieces are gently heated and hammered into round blanks, which are pickled in a boiling solution of apricot juice and salt, then struck by a blow of the hammer from engraved dies. The coins of Edward I. of England were produced by a similar process, but in this case the bars were probably square,[65] and the square fragments cut off were forged round with the tongs and hammer before being struck. This process was used from time to time in England, up to as late a period as 1561".

The ancient European process of minting is clearly shown in Plate VII, which is from a wall found in the Casa dei Vetti at Pompei and is usually entitled *amorini monetari.* In the picture are shown a number of Cupids going through all the processes of making money, and it very well describes the proceedings I myself saw in Paṭiâlâ in 1883. The picture must have been painted about the very commencement of the Christian Era.

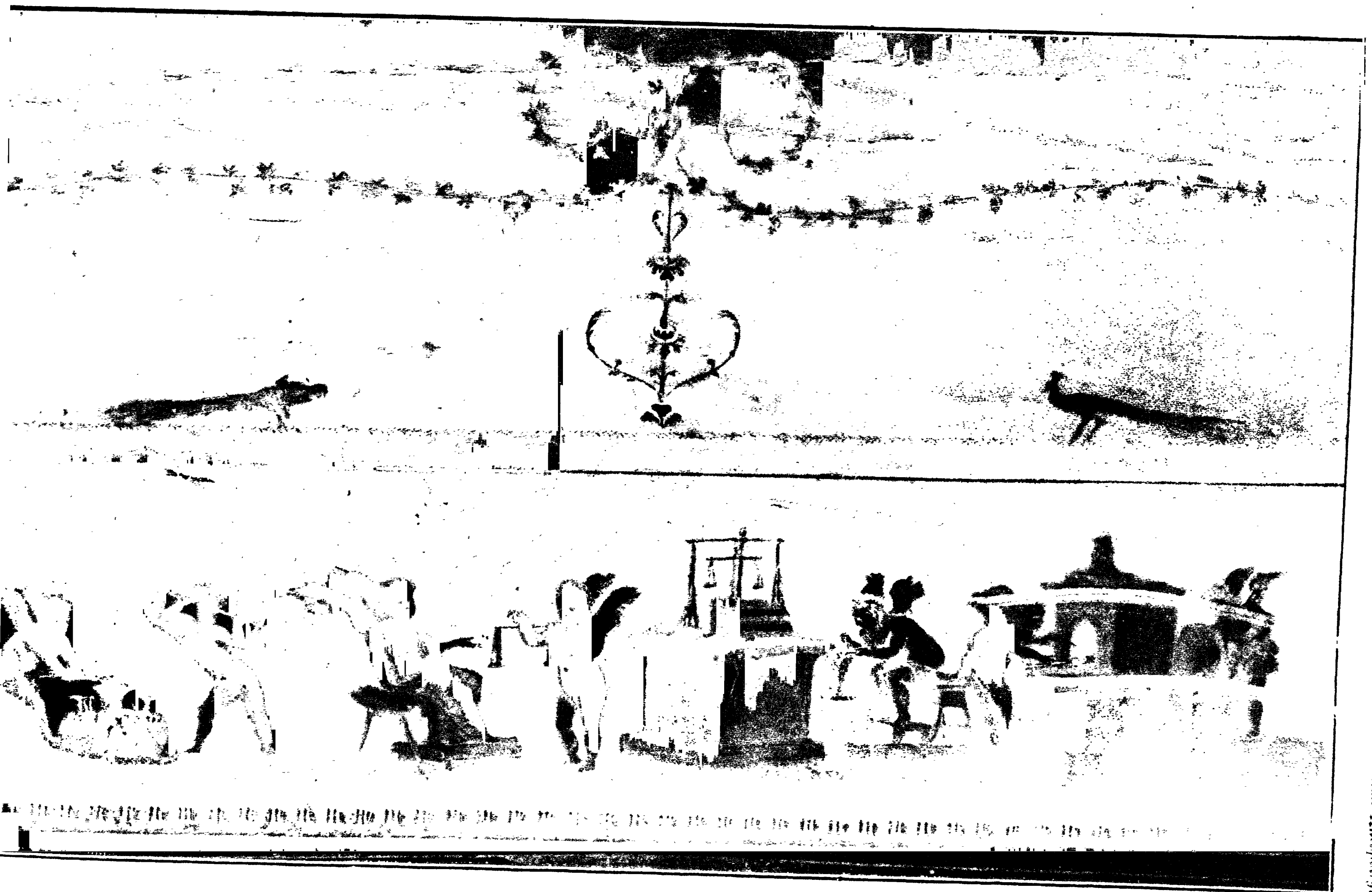
I have already referred to Charles Neufeld's account of the proceedings of the Khalîfa 'Abdu'llahi of Omdurman in the Soudan as to his currency. These forced him to try and coin money for himself, and we have an account of his minting operations by Neufeld (*Wide World Magazine,* 1899, vol. IV, No. 21, Dec., pp. 235-6), which is very valuable, as he was employed in a capacity of importance at the Mint, and it shows how the Oriental with the best machinery available can make very little way with minting without European assistance.

"It was while the peculiar currency question was at its height that Abbajî came forward with his scheme for a coining press ; and, in order that I might assist him, I was transferred to the Khartoum arsenal . . . The arsenal was presided over by Khalîl Hassanîn, at one time a clerk under Roversi, in the department for the repression of the slave trade. Although ten years had elapsed since the fall of Khartoum, the arsenal must have been in as perfect working order as when Gordon made it into a modern Woolwich workshop. Power was obtained from a traction engine, which drove lathes, a rolling-mill, drills., etc.; while punches, iron scissors, and smaller machinery were worked by hand. In the shops proper were three engines

63 See the same *Journal,* Cantor Lecture, *Alloys used for Coinage.*

64 Abridged from an account given in the *Times,* September 10th, 1880,

65 *Red-book of the Exchequer,* quoted by Leake, p. 76.



MINTING IN POMPEI

AMORINI MONETARI

and boilers complete, ready to be fitted into Nile steamers; and duplicates and triplicates of all parts of the machinery then in use were also ready in case of accidents. Smelting, casting, moulding and modelling were all carried on in the place. The store-room was filled with every imaginable tool and article required for the smithy, carpenters' shops, and the boats. All the metal of the Soudan had been collected here. There were parts of cotton presses and sugar mills; bars of steel and iron ; ingots of brass and copper ; iron, copper, and brass plates ; and the heavier class of tools and implements. I was assured by Osta Abdallah, a rivetter in the shops in Gordon's time, that there was enough material in the place to build three more boats and keep the whole fleet going for many years. He did not exaggerate either. All other administrations were supplied by the Khartoum arsenal with whatever they required in the way of tools, furniture, iron and other metal work, cartridge presses, and steel blocks for coinage ; and very efficiently indeed was the work turned out.

"The little time I spent in the arsenal was, of course, fully occupied with the coinage question. Two men were kept constantly engaged casting square steel blocks for the Omdurman mint. These blocks were polished and cut in Omdurman, and twenty-five sets were generally in use at the same time. Possibly two hundred men were employed in the melting of the copper and casting it into moulds the size and thickness of the dollars. The discs were next passed on to people who gave them the impression. This was obtained by planing the disc on the lower block and then hammering the upper block upon it. The impressions produced were in the main very poor. The coins spread and split and the dies also were constantly splitting and breaking. After we had studied the process and Abbaji had explained his ideas of a press, I suggested we should commence operations with the punching-machine. We experimented until we had succeeded in smashing the dies and spoiling sheets of copper and in the end smashing the machine itself."

BOOK-NOTICES.

1. INTRODUCTION AND NOTES TO CUNNINGHAM'S ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA.
2. IDENTIFICATION OF MERU UPROOTED BY THE RASTRAKUTA KING INDRA III.
3. The HILSA STATUE INSCRIPTION OF 35TH YEAR OF DEVAPALA.
4. A NEW VERSION OF THE RAMA LEGEND.

The four pamphlets by PROF. S. MAJUMDAR SASTRI of the Patna University enumerated above have reached me.

The first is an Introduction to the Study of Cunningham's well known *Geography of Ancient India,* accompanied by notes. It need hardly be said that Prof. Majumdar Sastri's Introduction and Notes are valuable to the student, and bring much of the now somewhat antiquated information contained in Cunningham's labours up to date.

The second deals with an unsolved point in the researches of Fleet and Sir R. G. Bhaddarkar into the early history of Mâhârashtra. The Meru in question was not a place but a king "probably identical with Prabhu-Meru-Deva, the Bâna."

The third is an edition of an important inscription of Devapâla, son of Dharmapâla, and grandson of Gopâla, the founder of the Pâla dynasty.

The fourth and last pamphlet is of unusual interest, as it reveals a new version of the Râma Legend. The interest in Prof. Majumdar Sastri's investigations is to be seen in his opening and concluding paragraphs. He begins by stating : "It is known to every Hindu that the 'passing of Sitâ' to the nether world has been narrated in the *Uttarakâṇḍa* of Valmîki's *Râmâyaṇa.* But Bhavabhûti has, in his *Uttara-Râmacharita* united her with Râma. And critics have come to the conclusion that the dramatist has turned the tragic history of Râma into a comedy, as tragedies are seldom met with in Sanskrit dramatic literature. But before accepting this theory we ought to investigate whether the "re-union of Râma with Sîtâ (after the latter's abandonment by the former) has anywhere been described in early Sanskrit literature or not. And the result of my investigation on the subject is that Bhavabhûti borrowed it from Guṇâdhya, whose work is now popularly familiar to us in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. Sanskrit version—the *Kathâsaritsâgara.*"

The pamphlet then winds up thus: "Then it is clear that the re-union of Râma with Sîtâ, or, to put it otherwise, the legend of Râma without a tragic end was narrated, at least, in one of the two recensions of the *Bṛhat-kathâ,* which was composed a few centuries before Bhavabhûti. As for the latter's familiarity with Guṇâdhya's work it is clear from the fact, pointed out by Professor Lévi, that the plot of Bhavabhûti's *Mâlatî-Mâdhava* was borrowed from the original of the tale of *Madirâvatî* in the *Kathasaritsâgara.*"

R. C. TEMPLE.

JOHN MARSHALL IN INDIA: Notes and Observations in Bengal, 1668-1672 : edited and arranged under subjects by SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, LITT.D. (Oxford University Press. Twenty-one shillings net.)

This is a remarkable book in many ways. From the information conveyed in the Preface, it would appear that the individual who has contributed the least towards its composition is the gentleman whose name is presented on the title-page. Nevertheless, in vol. IX of the *Proceedings of the Indian Records Commission* (Lucknow, December 1926), twenty pages are given to "a paper by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan" which purports to be, and in fact is, an advance copy of the Introduction to the present volume. We now learn from the Preface that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's share in this Introduction and in "the arrangement of the work under appropriate headings" has been "very small:" and if we may judge from other admissions, the notes are largely, if not entirely, provided by others. For example, the notes to Chapter VIII are wholly supplied by Sir Richard Temple and Dr. Ganganatha Jha, and the whole of the section on Indian Astronomy is edited by Mr. G. R. Kaye. We are left wondering what (if anything) remained to be "edited and arranged under subjects." Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan believes that "the book will revolutionize our conceptions of seventeenth-century India." This estimate of its contents is too high: we shall be on safer ground when we suggest that it is more likely to revolutionize our conception of authorship in modern India.

John Marshall does not play a prominent part in the early history of the East India Company: but he went to Bengal at the mature, and unusually late, age of twenty-five, after graduating at Christ's College, Cambridge, and occupied his leisure in the serious study of Indian antiquities. "If his researches had been published in 1680," wrote Professor E. B. Cowell in 1872, "they would have inaugurated an era in European knowledge of India, being in advance of anything which appeared before 1800." The manuscripts which are now printed are to be found in the Harleian collection at the British Museum, and use has already been made of them by Sir Richard Temple in various publications and (in a lesser degree) by Dr. C. R. Wilson. Among the Harleian MSS. is also preserved a rough translation of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* which was made from a Persian version of the Sanskrit, and Marshall likewise owned at the time of his death at Balasore on 31 August 1677, a number of "Arabian and Persian books" and a "history of China in folio," which have disappeared.

The Diary, which forms the first part of the volume, begins with his election as a factor: "I writ to my brother" on 1 January 1667-8, "That I had a great desire to travell." The outward voyage is described in detail. He arrived in Balasore Road on 5 July 1669, from Masulipatam, and set out for Hūglī in the February following. In April 1670 we find him at Patna, then under the charge of Job Charnock, and he remained there until September, when he returned to Hūglī with a fleet loaded with saltpetre. His next station was Balasore where he arrived on 16th October. In January 1670-1 he was back in Hūglī once more and from May 1671 to March 1672 was again at Patna. For the next four years he was "Second" at Kāsimbāzār and in December 1676 took over charge of the office of Chief at Balasore and "Sixth in the Bay." The last connected entry in the Diary records his arrival at Patna on 25 May 1671; but a few other entries of various dates are added which cover the period to March 1672. In Chapter VI an account is given of the famine in Patna at the latter end of May 1671, and this is followed by a number of geographical notes and comments on Hindu religion and philosophy, astrology, chronology, medicine, folklore and manners and customs. Chapter XII deals with Muhammadan laws and customs, with a cursory allusion to the Parsis; and in the final chapter various miscellaneous notes, which cover a wide field, are grouped together.

The commentary at the end of each chapter is packed with information, as might be expected from the "co-operation" of the many "specialists" who are named in the Preface, and of others who are not named.

H. E. A. C.

LETTERS ON RELIGION AND FOLKLORE, by the late F. W. HASLUCK, M.A., annotated by MARGARET HASLUCK, M.A., Cambridge. Luzac & Co., London, 1926.

The gifted widow of the yet more gifted former Librarian of the British Archæological School at Athens has performed a notable labour of love in editing his last letters. The fine work he was doing for the archæology of Near Eastern Christianity was cut short by tuberculosis, and after a short time he died at Leysin, the Swiss resort of those unfortunately attacked by that fell disease. From Athens he travelled over the South of France in search of health, till finally he settled down at Leysin, but throughout his fatal illness he was always full of hope, and though he could not write any more books, he carried on a lively and informing correspondence with a fellow worker, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, accompanied by many capital sketches. Extracts from these letters his widow has now published and they reveal the spirit of a really brave man.

It is not possible to review a book of this kind, and one cannot do more than draw the attention of scholars to it, and they will find it not only delightful reading but filled with information on many an obscure point in the study of the Near East. Indeed, Mrs. Hasluck has a passage in her Preface which is worth taking to heart in this

connection: "Young students may also welcome the suggestions of subjects for research on pp. 28, 52, 120, 162."

R. C. Temple.

India's Past, a Survey of her Literatures, Religions, Languages and Antiquities, by A. A. Macdonell. Oxford University Press, 1927.

In this handy little volume Professor Macdonell reviews, as he expresses it, "the mental development of the most easterly branch of Aryan civilization since it entered India by land till it came in contact by sea with the most westerly branch of the same civilization after a separation of at least 3000 years." Within the narrow compass of 273 pages the results of the researches of a host of modern scholars have been sifted and arranged in due sequence, forming a useful guide for the general reader as well as for the student. The greater portion of the book is devoted to a classified survey of Sanskrit literature, from the period of the Vedic hymns down to the late classical texts, including a useful summary of the technical literature on the various sciences. A chapter follows on the Indo-Aryan vernaculars and modern vernacular literature, with a very brief reference to the non-Aryan languages. The work may therefore be said to deal chiefly with the intellectual development of the Indo-Aryans since their ingress into northern India down to modern times. Political history has been excluded, and social and economic changes but incidentally referred to. In the last chapter ("The Recovery of India's Past") is told, succinctly but clearly, the fascinating story of how, by the research and devoted study of a succession of earnest workers, *quorum pars magna fuit* Professor Macdonell, the oldest literature of India has been made available to European scholars, and the ancient history of that country is being gradually disclosed to our view. The author shows how the marked paucity of ancient historical records has been, and is being, supplemented by the careful decipherment of inscriptions, in which India is fortunately so rich, and by the comparative study of coins, both of which materials have afforded such valuable aid to historical research. He enters a timely plea for the importance of searching out and collating the geographical data contained in the old records, and the preparation of maps to illustrate successive periods. The work hitherto done on these lines is very incomplete; and a correct knowledge of the geographical position is essential to a true understanding of history. Controversial subjects have generally been avoided, or where inevitably involved, as for instance the vexed questions of the ages to be assigned to the inroads of the Indo-Âryans, to the Vedic texts and the work of Pâṇini, they have been cautiously dealt with. In these matters the views of Professor Macdonell accord more or less with those to be held by Prof. A. B. Keith. No allusion has been made to the opinions expressed by Jacobi, Tilak, Grassman, Westergaard, Ipsen, Hertel and others. The fact is that when we receive the eagerly-awaited detailed description of the discoveries made at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro our conceptions of the ancient history of north-western India may have to be completely recast.

The illustrations, consisting mostly of specimens of MS. records and architectural and archæological remains, with a few portraits of notable persons, in some cases serve to explain and in other cases to supplement, the text. A very full index completes the work, which has been excellently printed.

After more than fifty years' connexion with the study and teaching of Sanskrit, Professor Macdonell has, to the great regret of his numerous old pupils and friends, found it necessary to resign his professorial chair; and we trust that he will now have the leisure required for the completion of the great work to which perhaps there is a veiled allusion in Chapter II.

C. E. A. W. Oldham.

Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Part II. The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles (vol. L of the ASI, New Imperial Series). By A. H. Francke, Ph.D. Calcutta, 1926.

This is the second volume of Dr. Francke's *Antiquities of Indian Tibet.* The first volume, edited by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, appeared in 1914. The present volume, which has been edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas, has been published after an interval of some 12 years, for reasons explained in the Foreword. It deals almost exclusively with historical matter. We have here presented to us for the first time a complete edition of the Tibetan text, based upon 5 MSS., of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, or History of the Kings of Ladakh, with an English translation, interspersed with numerous explanatory notes. This history takes up the first portion of the volume. The second half contains a number of minor chronicles, genealogies and records (texts and translations), with relevant extracts from Vigne's *Travels*, Cunningham's *Ladak* and other sources. Dr. Francke has, in fact, gathered together all the material so far available for a connected account of the history of the area of which he treats down to the year 1886 A.D. The earlier portions of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* includes a brief history of the ancient empire of Great Tibet, while the later part deals with Western Tibet. Dr. Francke is convinced that all the earlier groups of kings are non-historical, and belong to Bon-po mythology, that the first three and a half chapters contain only legendary matter, and that we first reach the firm ground of history with Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (600-650 A.D.), though his four ancestors in the ascending line may possibly be historical persons, thus taking us back to about 480 A.D.

As to the authenticity of the histories, Dr. Francke, who has made a special study of all the epigraphical records of these districts, comes to the conclusion that the kings of the Rnam-rgyal dynasty are historical realities, their order of

succession as given in the chronicle being the same as found in the inscriptions on stone. He also finds that the chronicles do not contain anything that conflicts with the contemporary history of other countries, so far as a comparison can be made.

The work is illustrated by five good maps of Ladakh and neighbouring districts prepared from the Survey of India sheets, with the names printed in accordance with the correct orthography, and is furnished with a full and well-prepared index. We look forward to the further part of this scholarly work promised in the Introduction, dealing with the inscriptions on stone, etc.

C. E. A. W. Oldham.

Two Articles on St. Thomas: (1) Was St. Thomas in South India, an examination of Dr. J. N. Farquhar's Thesis. by T. K. Joseph. *The Young Men of India*, July, 1927. (2) The Martyrdom of St. Thomas, The Apostle, by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar. *JASB*., July, 1927.

I have on my table two articles produced in the same month by natives of South India, which show how closely the story of St. Thomas, is being studied by Indian scholars, and it is well that this should be the case. Both of these articles are well worth attention, as they are honest attempts to get at the truth.

Mr. Joseph's opinion is summed up in his pp. 17f: "St. Thomas died in Arachosia (Southern Afghanistan), but Calamina (an assumed site of his death) need not be looked for there. It is Chennamalai near Mylapore [Madras] in South India." . . . (p. 14). "The saint who lies buried in Mylapore—I call him the Calamina saint—died in circumstances quite different from those of St. Thomas's martyrdom." Mr. Joseph here usefully draws the attention of searchers (p. 18) to the "marked tendency in Malabar to mis—appropriate and mislocate well known heroes of Hindu history and legend," and gives instances. He might have extended them considerably by taking into his purview the habits of the Burmese, the Mons and the Siamese further to the East.

Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar's article is of a different nature. He subjects the early authorities on the St. Thomas legend in South India to a most valuable criticism in quite the right way. He quotes them from the original where he can, and discusses them each in chronological order. He divides them into two categories: before and after the Portuguese investigations into the alleged martyrdom of St Thomas, *i.e.*, before and after 1545. The survey of the evidence is both thorough and fair, and it leads the writer to certain definite conclusions, which all students would do well to consider carefully.

R. C. Temple.

Journal of Francis Buchanan in Shahabad (District of Bihar) in 1812-1813: edited by C. E. A. W. Oldham, 1926. Govt. Press, Patna, India.

There is much more in this modest book than appears at first sight. It is in fact an admirably edited print of the *Journal* of a celebrated writer, who lost much more in literary reputation than possibly he ever realised by changing his name to Buchanan-Hamilton—his work as Buchanan being thereby much neglected.

This *Journal*, which is here printed for the first time, was made during Buchanan's survey of the Shāhābād District in 1812-1813—a district nearly a century later in the care of Mr. Oldham himself. Like all Buchanan's work it is filled with details of every kind that could be useful to the Government of his day, and is extraordinarily accurate. Indeed Mr. Oldham remarks in his Introduction that he "was amazed at the facts disclosed", when he first read it. In this instance Buchanan had the misfortune of having his work included in Martin's *Eastern India* without his name being placed on the title page, but Mr. Oldham has now reproduced it in full with proper description to the original author. He has done more, as he knows the district inside out and has so been able to correct certain errors made by Buchanan, and to elucidate from him own wide reading many points of interest in the Diary, such as the book really is.

Buchanan noticed everything he could and made notes, therefore of the greatest value, on the botany, geology, archæology, ethnography, history and geography of the District, on all of which subjects Mr. Oldham has added his own equally valuable annotations. It only remains to remark that places like Sāsarām and its environs, Dumrāon, the Tutrāhī Falls, Rohtāsgarh, the Guptēśvar Caves, and many another point of historical or legendary interest are described at length, to show the value of the book to the student of things Indian.

R. C. Temple.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

FRANGI—PARUNKI.

Here is a new form of Frangi=Feringhee=Frank. In a note to "Thomas Cana and his Copper Plate Grant," *ante* vol. LVI, p. 184, Fr. Hosten has a note: "The Malayalam name for the Portuguese was, and is, Parunki."

R. C. Temple.

HOBSON-JOBSON.

Here is an excellent note from Morrier, *Travels Persia*, 1816, p. 6. "Bombareek, which by sailors is also called Bombay Rock, is derived originally from Moobarek, happy, fortunate."

R. C. Temple.

A NAIR ENVOY TO PORTUGAL.

By U. B. NAIR.

THE recent Goa Exposition, which synchronized with the tercentenary of the canonization of Francis Xavier, has drawn the homage not only of the Catholic world but of all spiritually-minded Indians to Xavier's memory in a special degree. The event set many people writing about the Saint, but few of them, I fear, have succeeded in shedding fresh light on his career. An exception is afforded by the Rev. J. C. Castets, S.J., of Trichinopoly, who lectured so informingly at Goa on Xavier's Mission to the Paravas. Father Castets only dealt with one episode of the Saint's Indian career. But that episode holds sufficient to merit attentive study. The lecture is well worth reading, especially as it depicts an India that has passed into oblivion. He makes a slight reference therein to the part played by " one Juan da Cruz " in christianizing the pearl-fishers. And thereby hangs a tale.

Now who is this Juan da Cruz ? Father Castets, as reported, makes but the barest reference to this remarkable man. This shadowy figure with a Portuguese patronymic he describes, in passing, as having applied on behalf of the Paravas for Portuguese protection against their Muhammadan trade-rivals and—the better to succeed in this request—for their baptism. The reader is thus led to believe that Juan's share in this transaction was negligible—in other words, it was that of a mere case of ' also ran '. This however is far from the truth. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that this Hindu in Portuguese garb was primarily and mainly instrumental for the conversion of the fisher folk—nay, he was in a sense the forerunner of the great Xavier himself on the Pearl Coast. There is, however, not even a vague hint or suggestion of this well-known historical fact in the lecture. Surely, the reader would like to know something about so remarkable a man. A friend and coadjutor of ' the Apostle of the Indies ', his name now and then crops up in the Saint's letters and is variously written Juan da Cruz, Juan de la Cruz, Joam de Cruz and St. John of the Cross. Judged alone by his achievements, this ' Malabar Prince ' and ' native Christian ' (as he is termed in the latest *Life* of Xavier) was undeniably a hero. With the aid of the priceless records in the archives of Lisbon and Rome it may be possible for a future biographer to reconstruct an adequate " life " of Juan, but that, as Kipling would say, is " another story."

For the nonce, let us attempt a thumb-nail sketch of this great Malayalee. Some of the Saint's letters (contained in Coleridge's *Life*, 1872) clearly state that he was a Nair, although his latest biographer is not quite so explicit. The latter (Edith Anne Stewart, 1917) in one place refers to him as ' a Malabar prince or nobleman, who had come into touch with the Portuguese and had become a Christian ' ; while in another, as a ' Parava convert ' with a fair grip of the Law of God, and as ' a native Christian of the Fishery Coast and one of the principal men of that land '. Where doctors differ laymen are sometimes the best judges, but there is absolutely no uncertainty about Juan's origin. He was presumably, at the outset of his carrer, an influential Nair functionary of the Zamorin's Court. Here are the few known facts concerning him. He visited Portugal in the early decades of the sixteenth century (1513 has been, obviously incorrectly, suggested as the very year) as an envoy of the Zamorin. João III was then king, and he received the deputation from Calicut with great pleasure. The Nair envoy was knighted and named after the Portuguese monarch, and he, of course, became a Christian. João de Cruz—Sir John of the Cross—as he now became, was perhaps (with the exception of Manoel Nair) the first Indian to receive such a high mark of royal favour from Portugal. He was, be it noted, the first knight of any European order from Malabar, anticipating Sir C. Sankaran Nair by some 400 years. The Hindu knight was lionised in Court circles and by Church dignitaries in Portugal, but when he returned home to Malabar he was put out of caste and banished the country by the Zamorin. He then transferred himself and his allegiance for a time to Cochin, whose ruler, as is well-known, had a hereditary feud with the Zamorin. Eventually he quitted the inhospitable pepper coast of Malabar for the

promising pearl-coast of Tinnevelly. The fishers of that coast, the Paravas, a mild and harmless race, had been for years past suffering much at the hands of the local Arab traders, vaguely designated 'Moors'. One of these gentry, in sheer devilment, had gone the length of cutting off a Parava's ear. This deadly affront had to be wiped out in blood, and immediate war ensued. This was the psychological moment of Juan's advent to the Piscarian (Fishery) coast. The story that he was installed as the chief of the Paravas appears to have no historical basis, but rests merely on the assumption of casual English writers on the subject. However, this may be, there is no doubt that he gained an ascendency in the counsels of the Paravas and he helped to bring about their wholesale conversion.

Turselline and Teixeira, the earliest biographers of Francis, throw a flood of light on this mass conversion. The former, in some respects the best biographer of the Saint, describes Juan as a "Christian Knight, a converted native noble, who had gone to Portugal and been received with favour by the King", and the manner in which he influenced the Paravas. Coleridge gives the following excerpt from Turselline :—"He (Juan) being a man both grave and pious, and hoping this fear of theirs might be an occasion to bring in the Gospel of Christ among them, so as at once they might be set free from the misery both of their war and their superstitions, told them his opinion was that in this extremity of danger they were to fly to extreme remedies ; and seeing, contrary to all justice and equity, they were betrayed by their own kings, and hardly charged on all sides by their enemies' forces, they should implore aid of the Almighty King of Heaven and of the Portuguese their friends, who were His devoted and religious servants : that so, protected by the Portuguese and the Divine assistance, they might not only defend themselves, but also triumph over their enemies". In a word he exhorted the Paravas : "you must change into Christians and then the Portuguese will come to your help and you will see no more of these Muslims". Teixeira, who had known the Saint in India, on the other hand, pithily avers that from a cut ear the Lord drew the salvation of many souls. By both accounts, Juan was undeniably the Lord's instrument in this noble enterprise. In fact, he forestalled Xavier as a great gatherer of souls in this rich virgin vineyard on the Coromandel Coast. The war with the Moors gave him his opportunity. The hapless victims of the extortionate Arabs trod the path he showed them, and they were rid of their oppressors. This was the ready path of Christianity.

So Juan headed a deputation of Parava *patangatins* (or *maires-de-village*) to Cochin, the deputation was straightway baptised, and everything turned out just as Juan had prophesied. At his intercession a strong Portuguese fleet and a goodly number of Franciscans sailed for the pearl-coast. The Portuguese guns opened fire on the Arab dhows and the Moors were annihilated. The Franciscans landed and baptized 20,000 Paravas on the spot. This was the seed-root of Christianity among the Paravas.

Father Castets, who had delved deep into the archives of the Jesuit Library at Rome in the preparation of his paper, has kindly placed at my disposal the following facts gleaned by him regarding Juan. He controverts the theory of Juan's installation as Chief of the Paravas. In a private letter he writes :—"The letters of St. Fr. Xavier (Spanish) make mention often of the help given him by the Jadi Talaver (caste headman) of the Paravas. That head is said to be a Paraver, as was but natural, and is called Manuel da Cruz. Or. Conguist (Portuguese) mentions the fact of João being a very noble Malabarin, having been sent on an embassy to Lisbon, having been the intermediary between the Parava delegates and the Captain of Cochin, but says nothing of his having been made Head of the Paravas. The Portuguese besides had no authority over the Paravas or over the Fishery Coast and could not therefore impose a chief on them, while the Paravas were most unlikely to choose or accept, as Head, a man of any other caste but their own. As for Coleridge's account of motives from Turselline, it is mere story, not history. F. Valignani who wrote, on the spot, a few years after the event, with companions of Xavier as his informers, traces it plainly to a brawl caused by conflict of interests and Mahomedan highhandedness".

João da Cruz—envoy, fishermen's friend and protagonist in the fierce strife between Parava and Moor—was essentially a man of action. His religious acts were, not unoften, determined by policy. Instance his advice to the Paravas. Their peril was his opportunity. It is worthy of note that he was no believer in the miracle-stories attributed to Xavier. We have the high authority of the *Monumenta Xaveriana* for this statement. This valuable collection of original Xavier letters and documents published in Madrid some few years ago, makes it clear that this Nair convert had a very fair grip of the ' Law of Christ '. The only miracles he knew, he is reputed to have said, was that the Saint ' did indeed much and very miraculously in separating the Christians from their sins and vices '—an assertion which strikes one as echo of Francis' own judgment.

Nor was Juan the solitary instance of a Nair noble who attained eminence in the Portuguese epoch. The late Sir William Hunter mentions the well-known case of ' a Malabar native Christian ', Antonio Fernandes Chale, Knight of the Military Order of Christ, who rose to high military rank and, dying in action in 1571, was accorded a State funeral at Goa. But the career of this native commander of foot, interesting to us in these days of the proposed Indianisation of our Army, is cast into the shade by Manoel Nair.

This personage, "a relation of the king of Cochin," appears to have been accidentally carried to Portugal in one of Cabral's ships; and his story, as told in *Lendas da India*, reads almost like a page of the *Arabian Nights*. Cabral presented the youth, attired in the characteristic fashion of the Nair warrior of the time to King Manoel the Fortunate, and he conversed with His Majesty in pidgin Portuguese. His knowledge of that language, however, improved in course of time, and he became a favourite at Court. One Sunday, when the king was at Mass, the youth, who stood by, expressed his wish to become a Christian. Then and there he was baptized by an eminent bishop, with Vasco da Gama and Cabral as godfathers, and named after the king himself. Manoel Nair—to call him by his new name—received a villa and an ample pension, and was employed as the king's Indian secretary to indite confidential Malayalam despatches on Indo-Portuguese affairs to the King of Cochin. He was subsequently raised to the status of hidalgo. He appears to have died a bachelor, and by royal command he was honourably buried in the Cathedral of Evora, his wealth having been under his will given to the church and his servants.

Juan da Cruz, on the other hand, appears to have married an Indo-Portuguese wife.

THOMAS CANA.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(*Continued from page* 124.)

I shall end these remarks with a note on an Italian play about Travancore and the Deccan, which Mgr. A. M. Benziger, the Bishop of Quilon, showed me during my all too short stay at Quilon in 1924. The play appears to be founded purely on imagination. I had no time to do more than write down the title and the *dramatis personae.* It must be exceedingly rare now.

La|conversione|di|Travancor, e Dacen|regni dell' Indie. | Opera Scenica|del Sig.|Michel Stanchi|dedicata|All' Illustriss. Signore Monache|della Concettione|di S. Maria | in Campo Marzo. | In Roma, Per il Dragondelli, 1668. | Con licenza de' Superiori. | Si vendono in Piazza Nauona nella Bot-|tega di Bartolomeo Lupardi all' Inse-|gna della Pace. Pp. 3; 162; 4 blank pages. At p. 5:

INTERLOCUTORI.

Tricanoro Rè di Trauancòr.
Clarinda Principessa sua cugina.
Damira Damigella.
Fidalbo Rè di Dacen.
Grotilde sua Sorella sotto nome d'Araminta.
Cornelia Matrona.
D. Fernando Caualier Spagnuolo Christiano.
Alonso suo seruo.
Megrane Zio di Tricanoro.
Aribenio suo seruo.
Girello Paggio di Tricanoro.
Oruante Ministro principale di Dacen.
La scena rappresenta il Palazzo|Reale in Villa.

The 1st Act contains 19 scenes; the 2nd, 27 scenes; the 3rd, 25 scenes.

At the fourth blank page these words in MS.: Se questo libro si perdesse|ed il Patrone non si trouasse|legerete il quitto verso|e vedrete chì la perso|Jo. Pioan: Antonio di Lucca| 1783.|

Of the contents I have not the slightest recollection.

Document No. 6 communicated by Fr. Hosten.

From *The South India Christian Repository,* Vol. II (1838), Madras, American Mission Press, pp. 191-195.

The author of a Malayalam MS. account of Christianity in India, after describing the persecution of Manikka Vâśakar, proceeds:

" It pleased divine providence at length to remove the calamity, and confirm their faith, by their receiving an authentic document, stating, that the bishop of Oruoy, or Antioch, had seen a vision by night, the appearance of a man saying to him: ' In the regions of Malayalam where I had successfully spread the truths of Christianity, and sacrificed my life in the discharge of my duty, I feel much concern that Christianity should be so grievously defective, and the Christian name abused under the form of Hinduism! The bishop on awaking sent for several ministers of the gospel, and acquainted them with the dream, and he afterwards went to Jerusalem to the patriarch, whom the bishop consulted upon the subject, and immediately an ecclesiastical council was held; and it was determined that a respectable merchant named Kanoy Thoma, or Thomas, should be deputed to the Malabar Coast, to ascertain whether any of the converts of the apostle existed. Accordingly the merchant embarked on a vessel laden with rich commodities in prosecution of his voyage to the East Indies, and arrived on this coast, and visited the Christians, and his belief was confirmed by the crucifix he saw,

as well as by the accounts he received from them ; he was, however, grieved to find that the state of the Christians had so greatly (**P. 193**) declined, and the few good converts remaining had laboured under every possible disadvantage, especially by having no ordained minister of the gospel among them. The merchant Kanoy Thoma, who was honoured with this special mission, discharged his duty with fidelity, and he lost no time in conveying the tidings of the primitive Christians whom he found settled on the Coast of Malabar to the bishop of Antioch. Further it is certain that, from the interesting accounts he gave, a bishop with a few presbyters or Kashushas, Shemshanas or deacons, together with several families of Syrians were despatched under the care of the merchant Kanoy Thoma, with a view that the Christian religion might be re-established, and preached in its purity in all the primitive churches in Malayalam. Subsequently the bishop of Antioch landed at Codungalore, commonly known by the name of Cranganore, with his ecclesiastical suite and followers, accompanied by the merchant, and on their arrival the converts of the apostle Thomas named Dareoygul as above observed, with others belonging to the Cotaycoyle, were rejoiced to find that the evils which prevailed among them were likely to be removed, and were inspired with confidence ; and those difficulties were surmounted which had frustrated the extension of knowledge and religious liberty amongst them.

" The bishop soon after his landing, together with the merchant, visited the then sovereign of Malayalam, Sharakone Permaul, to whom they made several rich and costly presents, and took this occasion to mention to the rajah their design, and how Christianity had been introduced, and found an asylum in this part of the world from the earliest times. The rajah received them with the utmost kindness, and promised to allow them the free exercise of their religious worship, so long as the sun and moon endureth, and further called these luminaries to witness the truth of his declarations ; and at the same time the raja was pleased to confer fresh testimonies of his approbation by certain honourable distinctions, together with valuable and costly presents. (**P. 194**). [Footnote :—]

Thundu[100] .. .. A costly Palankeen, conveyance made to hang on silk cords.
Pullauku .. .. Do. Palankeen.

[100] Here I shall comment on the privileges enumerated, giving the correct forms of the words first. (1) Tanṭe : a kind of palanquin ; (2) Pallakke : another kind of palanquin ; (3) Paravatâni : carpet ; (4) Pañchavaṭam : chain of gold hung from the neck ; (5) Veñchâmaram : *chauri* or fly-whisk ; (6) Âlvaṭṭam : fan made of peacock feathers ; (7) Taḷa : fan used as banner or standard ; (8) Kuṭa : a costly umbrella of coloured silk ; (9) Naṭanaṭâṭṭe : shouting *naṭa, naṭa, i.e.*, 'on, on,' in a procession. This is done by men. (10) Nârivâykkurava : lingual cheers by women ; (11) Añchinam vâdyaṅṅal : five kinds of musical instruments, *viz.*, two varieties of drums, gong, cymbals and trumpet ; (12) Naṭapâvâṭa : walking cloth (cloth spread on the road for walking along) ; (13) Pakalviḷakke : daytime lamp ; (14) Maṇakkôlam : small decorated pavilion or canopied dais for seating the bride and bridegroom when they have returned from church after the marriage ceremony; (15) Chaṇṇayum chaṇṇamelkkeṭṭiyum : a seat with an awning; (16) Uchchippû : flower-like ornament for the crown of the head of women; (17) Neṭṭippaṭṭam : ornament covering the forepart of the head of women; (18) Kachchappuṛam : a chain belt of gold or silver ; (19) Munkaippatakkam : ornament for the forearm; (20) Tôḷvaḷa : bracelet for the upper arm ; (21) Vîrachaṅṅala : wrist chain of gold granted to heroes; (22) Vîrataṇṭa : anklet for heroes ; (23) Kâlchilampe : tinkling foot ornament for women ; (24) Ḷûnûl : thread or chain worn baldric-wise ; (25) Chaṅkuchakram : conch-shell for blowing, and the discus; (26) Iṭupaṭi : draw-bridge at the gate ; (27) Makaratôraṇam : ornamental arches temporarily put up for festive occasions; (28) Nantâviḷakke : lamp burning day and night; (29) Hastakaṭakam : bracelet for the hand or wrist; (30) Kanakamuṭi : gold crown for bridegroom's head; (31) Âbharaṇaṅṅaḷ: ornaments in general ; (32) Ânamêl maṇṇunîr : purificatory water brought on an elephant.

Many of the above are mentioned in the extant Malabar Christian copper-plates. To English readers the privilege of wearing ornaments may seem to be no privilege to be obtained from a king. But Malabar is a land of curious customs and manners. Even so recently as A.D. 1818 (in the 19th century) Queen Parvati Bhai of Travancore had to issue a royal proclamation (dated 19th Mêdam, 993 M.E.) allowing the Nairs and some other castes of her kingdom to wear ornaments of gold or silver without paying the usual fee to Government and obtaining the necessary sanction. The Brahmans and Syrian Christians of her land are not mentioned in the list, because they had the privilege already.

Purruwatauny ..	..A valuable carpet.
Punjaruttum ..	..Five kinds of insignia.
Venjamarum ..	..A fan made of white hair or fleece.
Allavuttum ..	..An ornament.
Thallay ..	..A crown for the head.
Kodday ..	..Umbrella.
Nuddanuddatu ..	..To cry out with applause.
Nalvaykalavay ..	..To shout four times.
Anjeenauteangul ..	..Five kinds of Music.
Nuddupauvaday ..	..Cloth spread on the ground for a procession.
Puggalvalaku ..	..Day torch.
Munnacolum ..	..Seats of distinction, as those usually prepared for a bride and bridegroom.
Sunniam Sannamalay Cuttiam.	..At a procession dancing to be continued at alternate places, with shouts of applause.
Oochepao ..	..An ornament for the crown of the head made like a fan.
Nettheeputtiam ..	..A brace for the head.
Cutchauporavum ..	..An ornament, brace ornament for the rib.
Minykpuddagum ..	..An ornament or bracelet for the wrist.
Tholeyvullau ..	..An ornament or bracelet for the arm (**P. 194**).
Verichungaley ..	..A chain of honour worn on the head by an hero.
Veri Thundu ..	..An ornament for the leg.
Kaul Shalunt ..	..An ornament for the feet.
Ponenool ..	..A sacerdotal string of gold.
Thungaushukrum ..	..
Edoovaudy ..	..Arms.
Muggara Toranum	..Temporary arches set up on occasion of triumph.
Nundauvalukoo ..	..Day and night torches.
Austau Cuddiam ..	..Two hand bracelets.
Cunnakaumoody ..	..A gold ornament for the head.
Aubonaugul ..	..Ornaments.
Aunamale Munnuneray	..Elephant to carry sand and water.

" The privilege was also given to the Christian of seizing any cow or cows having five teats, and the bull called Shencambu mâdu[101] and of enjoying all lands encroached on by rivers called Autoovypoo[102], and besides three trees, viz., the Angelica[103], the Coomoolu Teak[104], and the Panchelmarum[105]. They were also allowed to sport with dogs, and fish at pleasure; moreover an area of ground in the vicinity of Codungalore measuring 244 annakole equal to 2928 English feet; the above were presented to Kanoy Thoma and the Bishop according to

101 Cows usually have four teats. Those having three teats or five teats are prodigies, and were as such claimed by kings and chiefs and big landlords of Malabar. The bishops of the Syrian Christians too very likely had the privilege of appropriating such cows.

Shencambu madu is for *cheṅkompu mâṭe* in Malayalam. It means a bull with straight, red, or auspicious horns, a prodigy. Ordinary bulls have curved horns.

102 *Āttuvaippę* or *āttuveppę* is land newly formed on their banks by rivers. These land deposits are now Government property.

103 These three trees are *āññili* or *ayani* (*Artocarpus hirsuta*), *kumpil* (*Gmelina arborea*) and teak (*Tectona grandis*). The last kind of tree is even now a royal tree, belonging to the king. People are prohibited from cutting it down without the sanction of Government.

104 *Kumpil* and teak should be read separately, not as in the text.

105 Correctly, *pâchchilmaram*, *i.e.*, any tree borne down by rivers. Such trees are now Government property.

the custom of bestowing these grants ; and were accepted from the Rajah with the ceremonies of offering flowers and sprinkling of water.[106]

" These privileges likewise exempted them from all punishments ; that is, from the tribunal of the higher powers consisting of Maudumbenaurs[107], Noblemen or Princes, Rajahs, Hindu temple governments, and of the Town administrators, but in case of any offences committed by them, they were tried by the elders or members of the eighteen castes,

[Footnote:—]

Punjanar[108] ..	..Pariars.
Paunen	..Tailors.
Villen	..Bowmen.
Tachen	..Sawyers.
Yerravekolen ..	..Inferior smiths.
Thundaun	..Wood cutter.
Savouracauren ..	..Barbers.
Veirootian	..Village mendicant.
Mullia Chitty ..	4 descriptions of Chetties.
Pullivaula Chitty ..	
Komana Chitty ..	
Cunnichemaullau Chitty	
Head Munnigraummu-matcheen or Manika-vassel's disciples.	..Sooders or Nairs.
Elaven ..	..Toddymen.
Cummaulen ..	..Smiths.
Maumasau or Nassaranees.	Syrians.
Oravaulen ..	..Moochymen, or Scabbard makers.

106 When anything is granted as a permanent possession the donor gives the donee a document relating to the gifts, and pours (not sprinkles) water and flowers into the hand of the donee. This is an ancient custom.

107 *Mâṭampimâr* are petty chiefs. The five mentioned here, *viz.*, kings, chiefs (*kaimmals*), petty chiefs (*mâṭampimâr*), temple governments, and town administrators seem to have had the right of taking cognizance of crimes.

Members of the eighteen castes is a mistranslation for lords over or masters of the eighteen (low) castes. The Syrian Christians were the acknowledged lords over eighteen low castes as stated in Portuguese records. It is on account of this high position that they are even to-day addressed by low castes on certain occasions as *patinenparisha* Mâḷôr or—Achchanmâr (*i.e.*, lords of eighteen castes). See footnotes 108 and 109.

108 There are several lists (in Malayalam) of these eighteen castes. But their real names and identity have not yet been ascertained. Eighteen castes—*patinen kuṭimai*—are spoken of in Tamil also.

I shall comment on the names in the present list. (1) Pâkkanâr : Pariah, (2) Pâṇan : tailor, (3) Villan : bow-maker, (4) Tachchan : carpenter, (5) Îrankolli : washerman, (6) Taṇṭân : wood-cutter and tree climber, (7) Kshaurakkâran : barber—there are two castes called *ampaṭṭan* (lower) and *viḷakkiṭṭalavan* (higher), (8) Vîraṭiyân : a caste of mendicants who go about singing ballads about Thomas Cana and the 72 privileges. Pâṇans, No. 2, also do the same. They are said to have been specially set apart for the purpose by Chêramân Perumâḷ. (9) Chetties, four kinds not identified, (10) Maṇigrâmattachchan : Syrian Christian. He is wrongly included, for he is lord of the eighteen castes. One old cadjan MS. explicitly says that seventeen (*sic*) castes were subjected to the Syrian Christians. (11) Îḷavan : toddy maker, a Ceylonese caste (12) Kammâlar : artisans *viz.*, carpenters, brass-founders, goldsmiths, blacksmiths and copper-smiths, (13) Mâmôdîsâkkâr : the newly baptised converts from low castes (Mâmôdisâ=baptism in Syriac), (14) Uravâḷan : scabbard maker.

We have altogether seventeen low castes here, taking the two kinds of barbers and the four kinds of Chetties separately, and the Kammâḷas as one. And, including Vishamânṭi Kurukkal mentioned in the cadjan MS. referred to above, we get eighteen castes. But it is not known what this last caste is. (See foot-notes 107 and 109).

THE HOME OF THE UPANIṢADS.

BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A., B.L.

WHERE were the Upaniṣads born ? In what particular area, in what part of India, were these remarkable books brought into existence ? Was it in the East or West or North or South, that these speculations first saw the light of day ?

The question does not imply that all the Upaniṣads were born in one place, during one period of time and among one homogeneous sect of men. On the contrary, we have very good reasons to believe that the growth of this literature and its development was spread out over a fairly long period of time ; and that all of these books were not written in the same locality and certainly not by the same hand.

The name Upaniṣad comprises a considerable number of books ; and between an Upaniṣad like the Īśa and one called the Āllopaniṣad, there exist all the differences that may possibly exist between two books of the same class. And even between Upaniṣads which are more akin to each other, a difference of time and of place and also of authorship, may easily be noticed. Not only so, but, just as in the case of the Vedas proper, the different Śâkhâs imply temporal and geographical differences, and just as these differences are traceable in, among other things, the different readings of the Texts, so, among the Upaniṣads too, there exist different readings of common passages and common anecdotes, which indicate that differences of time and place have left their mark on these texts and these stories. The fact of different reading has been recognised even by Sâyaṇa, in his commentary on the Nârâyaṇîya Upaniṣad (quoted by Max Müller, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 122n.) : " Tadîya-pâṭhasampradâyo deśaviśeṣeṣu bahubidho dṛśyate, etc." So, a difference of time and of place may be detected not only among the diverse books, but even in the readings of the same book ; for instance, in the anecdote of Bâlâki and Ajâtaśatru, which occur in the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* and the *Kauṣîtaki*, and in the story of Pravâhaṇa Jaibali, which occurs in the *Chândogya*, the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* and the *Kauṣîtaki*, though the main incidents are the same, still verbal differences in the accounts given are noticeable, indicating a difference of time and authorship.

As to authorship, however, indigenous tradition has a tendency to conceal it. The Upaniṣads constitute a part of the revealed literature of the country, and as such, according to the orthodox way of thinking, do not owe their origin to any human hand. But modern scholarship has not been baffled in its inquiry in this direction. It is possible now to draw definite conclusions, at least about the *class* of men among whom this literature was developed ; and we are pretty certain that this was a sect of Brâhmaṇas, mainly itinerant, but sometimes also owning a settled home, who were the fathers of this cult. But whatever that may have been, this literature was not the product of one hand—it could not possibly have been.

So, when we ask the question about the home of the Upaniṣads, we do not imply that they were like an individual book, written by one hand, at a certain place, like John Bunyan writing his *Pilgrim's Progress*, within the four walls of the prison-house, or like Gray writing his *Elegy* in a Country Church-yard. We are quite alive to the varied differences among the books of the Upaniṣads. But they still have a family likeness about them ; it is not in name only that they agree ; the same—at any rate, a similar, trend of thought runs through them all, or, in any case, a great majority of them. This fact it is that is emphasised in *Vedanta-Sutra* i. 1. 10. (*Gatisâmânyât,*) where it is claimed that *all* the Vedântas proclaim Brahma as the cause of the universe. Now, we only want to know where, in which particular part of India, was this speculation started and developed ? The question necessarily implies that it is possible to fix, broadly, the limits of the territory within which Brahma-vidyâ was originally cultivated.

Our enquiry in this matter will depend on three kinds of testimony : (i) the testimony of Śruti literature other than the Upaniṣads ; (ii) the testimony of the Upaniṣads themselves ; and (iii) the testimony of the later Sanskrit literature, *e.g.*, the Purâṇas, etc.

(i) In the first place, Brahma-vidyâ was a product of Âryâvarta. It was produced and for a long time cultivated, almost exclusively, within the territory bounded on the west and east by the sea, on the south by the Vindhyas, and on the north by the Himâlayas (see *Manu*, ii. 22). Later on, however, it migrated southwards, and in the seventh and eighth centuries after Christ, we find it flourishing in the south with a magnificent grandeur. The celebrated Śaṅkarâchârya, be it remembered, was a man of the south and developed his Vedantism in about this period.

But the south has never been recognised as the original home of the Upaniṣads. In the Śrutis other than the Upaniṣads, there is little or no reference to any place south of the Vindhyas ; and in the Upaniṣads, too, there is none, with perhaps the solitary exception of Vidarbha. The references to these places in the post-Upaniṣadic literature in connection with Brahma-vidyâ only show that it had travelled and spread to the south also.

There are, however, one or two interesting cases to which attention may be drawn here. In the first place, there is the story of Raikva as it occurs in the *Skanda-Purâṇa* The anecdote is about an interview between Jânaśruti Pautrâyaṇa and Raikva Sayugvâ, and it is given in the *Chândogya Upaniṣad*, iv. 1-2. The same story is dilated upon by the *Skanda* in iii. I. 26. The *Chândogya* does not give us any idea as to the place of Jânaṣruti's abode or of that of Raikva. But curiously enough, the *Skanda* places Raikva in mount Gandhamâdana, which is mentioned as a sacred place next to Dhanuṣkoti. Now, Dhanuṣkoti is obviously the place in the Southern Presidency, which still bears the name. That being so, Raikva's home was somewhere in the extreme south. Raikva was a Brahma-vâdin of some standing, both according to the *Chândogya* as well as the *Skanda*. For him to be a native of the south, even at the time of the *Chândogya*, is somewhat extraordinary. So, even if the account of the *Skanda* be correct, it must be regarded as an exception. But on the face of it, the *Skanda* itself is open to suspicion. In the Upaniṣads, there is not the remotest hint that Brahma-vidyâ was the product of the south, nor is there anything to suggest that Raikva or any other teacher of Brahma-vidyâ was a native of the south.

In the second place, *Skanda* vi. 129 also describes a hermitage founded by Yâjñavalkya in a place called Hâtakeśvara. There is no difficulty about the identity of this Yâjñavalkya. He is the Upaniṣadic teacher and the discoverer of the White Yajus. But the account of his hermitage in the *Skanda* evidently lacks historical authenticity. For, it is in this very place that Bhiṣma of the *Mahâbhârata* also founded four Śiva-liṅgas and worshipped them (ch. 58). And quite a host of others also are said to have visited this place and performed worship in it. (chapters 59, 72, etc.) These stories are obviously introduced to enhance the prestige and the sacredness of the place. There is nothing to show that they are based on historical foundations. The worship of Śiva-liṅga itself is perhaps much posterior to the time of the Upaniṣads. So, wherever this Hâtakeśvara may be located, we have no reason to think that Yâjñavalkya was a native of this place or that he had ever his schools there. So the south has no justifiable case to claim Brahma-vidyâ as its child.

On the contrary, certain places in Âryâvarta are so frequently mentioned in Brâhmaṇa literature and certain races dwelling in that area of land are given such a place of honour, that, this literature cannot but be ascribed to these races and these places. This much then can be safely assumed that the Upaniṣads were a product of northern India. But Âryâvarta itself is a vast tract of land ; it includes the land of Kuru-Pañcâla, Kâśî, Kośala, Videha, Magadha, etc. Can all of them claim the credit of having produced the Upaniṣads ? If not, to which of them, then, does the glory really belong ?

Macdonell thinks that " the home of the philosophy of the Upaniṣads was in the Kuru-Pâñcâla country rather than in the east." (*Vedic Index*, i. 272). And the transmission of this philosophy to east and south and west, was effected by the missionary activities of the same Kuru-Pañcâla people again. " The repeated mention of Kuru-Pañcâla Brahmans is

another indication of their missionary activity." (*Ibid.* i. 168). According to Macdonell, therefore, Brahma-vidyâ was brought into existence in the land of Kuru-Pañcâla, by the Brahmans of that country (*ibid.* under Varṇa); and it was spread also far and wide by the same people. "There seems little doubt," says he, "that the Brahmanical culture was developed in the country of the Kuru-Pañcâlas, and that it spread thence east, south and west."

Oldenberg holds the same view. "We found," says he, "that the literature of the Brâhmaṇas points to a certain definitely circumscribed circle of peoples as its home, as the home of genuine Brâhmaṇism. We found that this circle of peoples corresponds with those whom Manu celebrates as upright in life." (*Buddha*, p. 410.) Oldenberg is here thinking of the valley of the Sarasvatî, the land of the Kuru-Pañcâlas.

The view has thus been clearly held that the home of the Upaniṣads was the land of the Kuru-Pañcâlas; and that it was from there that it spread east and west and south. And this view is held in spite of the prominence given in the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* to Videha and its King Janaka. (Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 398). Also, in enunciating this view, no difference of time, place and origin, seems to have been recognised between the Brâhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads proper.

It is undeniable that Videha was well-known even at the time of the Brahmanical literature; and it is equally undeniable that the court of its king was an important seat of dissertations on Brahma-vidyâ. The arguments of Macdonell and Oldenberg are, however, drawn from other facts. These may be broadly divided into two classes:

(*a*) Certain passages in Śruti, mentioning the Kuru-Pañcâlas with praise and appreciation and assigning a prominence to teachers belonging to that land; and

(*b*) certain other passages in the same literature making a contemptuous reference to Videha-Magadha.

(*a*) Now, with regard to this first kind of evidence, there is one important teacher about whom Macdonell and Oldenberg are at variance. Macdonell regards Yâjñavalkya as a Kuru-Pañcâla Brâhmaṇa (*V.I.*, i. 272). But Oldenberg considers it "highly probable that he belonged by descent, not to the Kuru-Pañcâlas, but—we may venture to add conjecturally—to the Videhas." (*Buddha*, p. 397-98).

Yâjñavalkya is such an important teacher that his nationality is likely to be the nationality of at least a considerable portion of the Upaniṣadic literature. It is not, however, bound to be so; the home of the teacher is not necessarily the home of his intellectual activity, as we shall see later on. And in so far as Yâjñavalkya's own nationality cannot be—or, has not been—established beyond doubt and dispute, we had better draw no conclusion from it.

There is another Upaniṣadic teacher, however, as to whose nationality opinion is more or less unanimous; this is Âruṇi. Uddâlaka Âruṇi, as he is usually called, was a Kuru-Pañcâla according to *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* xi. 4. 1. 2; and the *Gopatha Brâhmaṇa* (i. 3. 6) also calls him a 'Kauru-Pañcâla Brahmâ' *i.e.*, 'a Brahman of the Kuru-Pañcâlas.' And he is given as the teacher of Yâjñavalkya in *Bṛhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣad* vi. 3. 7; vi. 5. 3, etc. It is association with this Kuru-Pañcâla teacher that has led Macdonell to think, in spite of Oldenberg's opinion to the contrary, that Yâjñavalkya was a Kuru-Pañcâla himself. But obviously such a conclusion is based on insufficient data; for, there is nothing to prevent a Magadha or Videha Brahman from becoming a disciple of a Kuru-Pañcâla teacher; such things happened even in those ancient days. So, even if it be admitted that Yâjñavalkya was Âruṇi's pupil,—though as we shall presently see, it is not free from doubt—yet that in itself does not prove that Yâjñavalkya was himself a Kuru-Pañcâla. The *Smṛti* called after Yâjñavalkya places him in Mithila (i. 2.). He is called '*Yogîśvara*' and the probability is that the same man as the Upaniṣadic teacher is meant.

Âruṇi was no doubt a Kuru-Pañcâla; but what does that prove? Does it prove that Kuru-Pañcâla was the original seat of Brahma-vidyâ? After all, what did Âruṇi really teach? The *Śatapatha* gives an account of his discourses, and the *Gopatha* repeats it almost *verbatim*. But we do not find him lecturing on Brahma-vidyâ. He rather gives us a half mystical interpretation of the various items in a Vedic ceremony and dilates on the mysterious virtues of the different sacrificial objects employed in such ceremonies. He does not even pose as a teacher of Brahma-vidyâ.

Then, again, was he really Yâjñavalkya's teacher of Brahma-vidyâ? If he had really been so, could there be between him and his erstwhile disciple the sort of disputation that took place at the court of Janaka (*Br. Up.* iii. 7)? Such a public disputation, with a stake, is extremely unusual between a teacher and his pupil. At the court of Janaka, Âruṇi does not use very affectionate language towards one who has been supposed to have been his pupil. "If," says he, "without knowing the Antaryâmin, you are driving home these sacred cows, then your head will fall off." (*Br.* iii. 7. 1). Yâjñavalkya also addresses him by his Gotra name, *viz.*, as Gotama—rather an unusual way for a pupil to address his teacher. Again, his answers to Âruṇi's questions ultimately silence the latter; not a very covetable situation for one who had been the teacher of the self-same subject. Was Yâjñavalkya then really a pupil of Âruṇi at all?

In the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, Âruṇi's questions to Yâjñavalkya verge on Brahma-vidyâ. But in the *Kauṣîtaki Upaniṣad* (i. 1), he is made to confess that he and his class only know how to recite the Vedas in assemblies and receive gifts offered to them in reward (*sadasyeva vayam svâdhyayam adhîtya harâmahe yanno dadati*).[1] Philosophical questions are foreign to them. And so he and his son repair to a Kṣatriya prince to receive instruction in Brahma-vidyâ.

And in *Chândogya*, v. 11, again, Uddâlaka Âruṇi confesses to himself that he does not know all about Âtman or Brahma. Certain enquirers were coming to him for knowledge; at the very sight of these men he exclaims: *Prakṣyanti mâm ime mahâśâlâ mahâśrotriyâh tebhyo na sarvam iva pratipatsye hanta aham anyam abhyanuśâsânîti*, *i.e.*, "these rich learned Brahmins will ask me questions and I shall not be able to explain to them like (one who knows) all; well, I had better send them on to another." So thinking, he took them to Aśvapati Kaikeya and received instruction from him along with the new-comers. This fifth chapter of the *Chândogya* seems to have been designed for the exposure of the utter hollowness of the Kuru-Pañcâla Brahmans, of whom Âruṇi seems to have been the type.

In *Chândogya*, vi, Âruṇi no doubt gives instruction to his son Śvetaketu on Brahmavidyâ, but this was after he had himself received it from Pravâhaṇa Jaivali (*Ch.* v. 3).

The statement that Yâjñavalkya was Âruṇi's pupil, therefore, is not free from doubt; and Yâjñavalkya does not appear to have learned Brahma-vidyâ, if he learned anything at all, from Âruṇi. If, relying on the Vaṃśa (*Br.* vi. 5), we are inclined to think that Âruṇi was his teacher, still the dispute at the court of Janaka and Âruṇi's own confessions in the

[1] This passage, however, has been differently interpreted by Śaṅkarânanda in his commentary. Says he:

sadasyeva Citrasya Gârgâyaṇeh sabhâyâmeva, na tu anyatra, vayam Âruṇi-Śvetaketu-prabhṛtayah, svâdhyayam adhîtya etadartha-pratipâdakam vedabhâgam sârtham adhigamya Citrâd Gârgâyaṇeh harâmahe adhigacchâmah; yad-yasmât kâraṇât no'smabhyam Gautamâdibhyah aparihâryyebhyah—avyarthopakramebhyah yâcakebhyah, pare vidyâdhanadâtâro dadati prayacchanti, tat Citro na dâsyatîti śaṅkâ na karaṇîyâ iti.

Max Müller's and Hume's translations of this passage are also based on this interpretation. But it is rather striking that the other interpretation also is possible; and one wonders if it is not the more correct one.

Kauşîtaki, leave little room for doubting that whatever else he may have taught, Brahma-vidyâ was not his strong point.[2]

Again, if Âruṇi was the centre of important circles of Brâhmanical culture, as Oldenberg points out (*Buddha*, p. 396n.) and if he was the typical Kuru-Pañcâla Brahman, then we may easily conclude that, however well-known they may have been for their position and prestige in orthodox Vedic circles, the Kuru-Pañcâla Brahmans were not the real fathers of Brahma-vidyâ.

Yâjñavalkya was of course a great teacher and a teacher of Brahma-vidyâ too. But, as we have just seen, it is doubtful if he was a Kuru-Pañcâla at all[3]; even if he was, the scene of his activity is laid almost exclusively in Videha. He was perhaps not permanently residing there: no Brahman of any importance could really be pinned to any place for all times; he had to visit places and persons on spiritual ministration. A sacrifice of any kind would mean invitation for a large number of Brahmans from different parts of the country. The Brahman population of the country, therefore, was more mobile than others. So, Yâjña-valkya, too, was frequently on the move from place to place. We are often told that he *came* to the court of Janaka (*Br.* vi), implying thereby that he *was not* there. He must have moved from place to place, and that, too, perhaps more frequently than many others, because he was so well-known and certainly was very much in request. But nowhere except in Videha do we find him discoursing on Brahma-vidyâ. So far as Brahma-vidyâ was concerned, therefore, the field of his activity was Videha; and so far as his teachings are concerned, the home of Upanişadic culture lay in that country.

That the land of Kuru-Pañcâla was the land of good customs, one cannot deny, of course so far as good customs meant customs according to the Vedic ideal of life (cf. *Manu*, ii. 17-20). And that a considerable portion of the Vedic and Brahmanical literature was developed in that country and its neighbourhood, may also be taken as proved. But that in itself cannot be regarded as disproving the possibility of other and later branches of the same literature being developed in other places.

Eggeling, in his Introduction to the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* (p. xxxi) says: "This disagreement in respect of doctrinal authorities, coupled with unmistakeable differences, stylistic as well as geographical and mythological, can scarcely be accounted for otherwise than by assumption of a difference of authorship or original redaction. . . . . We may infer from this that the fire-ritual adopted by the Vâjasaneyins at the time of the first redaction of their texts, . . . had been settled in the north-west of India." It has been conjectured, therefore, that a distance of time separates the different parts of the *Śatapatha*; and it is equally open to conjecture that a distance of space also intervenes between the different parts. And if that be so, may we not also suggest that the latter *i.e.*, the Upanişadic portion of the book, was composed by hands other than those that composed the earlier portions and that it was composed in other lands too?

The story of Videgha-Mâṭhava (*Ś.B.*, i. 4. 1), has been cited as an evidence of the way in which Vedic culture migrated from the Kuru-Pañcâla country to the eastern districts of Videha-Magadha. That Vedic culture came from the west to the east, is now an established fact; but that the Upanişads also were produced in the same land as the Vedas and the Brâhmaṇas, does not necessarily follow. They came after the Brâhmaṇas and may easily be conceived as having originated after Brahmanical culture had spread eastwards to the limits of Videha-Magadha. The story of Videgha-Mâṭhava may be taken to indicate this transference of the centre of speculation from the west to the east.

[2] *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, v. 5. 5. 14, mentions both Âruni and Yâjñavalkya, but one is not mentioned as the teacher of the other. In *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, vi. 3, Aruṇi is said to have taught Yâjñavalkya certain *mantras* of magic power.

[3] In *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, iii. 9. 19, Śakalya accuses Yâjñavalkya of having insulted the Kuru-Pañcâla Brahmans, thereby perhaps suggesting that Yâjñavalkya himself was not one of them.

We do not dispute that initially there were no Brahmans in Magadha or Videha ; but neither can it be disputed that subsequently plenty of Brahmans came that way and settled down there. Cannot these Brahmans have favoured the growth of Upaniṣadic Brahmavidyâ ? The high praise bestowed upon Kuru-Pañcâla and its people does not preclude this possibility.

(b) We may turn now to the texts of the Śruti which express a contempt for the land of Videha-Magadha and its people.

In the *Atharva Veda* (v. 22. 14), the fever is wished away to the Mâgadhas, among other peoples. But this may mean only that it is wished away out of the land of the Âryans or out of the land to which the author of this text belonged—out of the territory known to them at the time, of which Magadha formed the eastern boundary. That this is a very possible meaning, is proved by the mention of Gândhâra also in the same passage, which formed the north-west boundary of the same territory (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 399), and also by the mention of other places like Aṅga, etc. So the passage need not be understood as implying a hatred for the land and people of Magadha. Again, if it is to be understood as a curse for Magadha at all, may we not take it to mean a curse not for the colonists of the place but the aborigines ? There is no evidence to support us in thinking that it referred to the Brahman colonists ; and yet these are just the people whom we are inclined to credit with the production of the Upaniṣads. But after all, does the passage mean any curse at all ? Are we sure that the author was not wishing only to cure the disease, but was seeking to curse others with it ?

The same remark applies to *Atharva Veda* (xv. 2. 1-4), *Śukla Yajus* (xxx. 5. 22), *Lâṭyâyana Śrauta Sûtra* (viii. 5) etc. If the Mâgadha is dedicated to the 'Atikruṣṭa,' or if he is connected with the Vrâtya, that in itself does not prove much. The disparagement of the Mâgadha does not prove that the land of Videha-Magadha could not have been the home of the Upaniṣads. For, in the first place, it is not clear who exactly was meant by the term Mâgadha. In later times, the term was used to mean a minstrel. The name is usually derived from the name of the country (Magadha). But instances are not rare where a country derives its name from that of the inhabitants ; that Magadha was not such a country, would be too dogmatic an assertion. So, the passages referred to above might imply disparagement of a class of men, who ultimately gave their name to a province. In that case, the disparagement is not of the land of Videha-Magadha, but of a certain sect of men who perhaps lived a half nomad life, and who, when they settled down, gave their name to the country.

In the second place, the country of Videha-Magadha had its original inhabitants, it seems, when it was conquered and colonised by the Âryan immigrants. These inhabitants may have been the people subsequently known as the Mâgadhas, or may have been a different race. And later on, even respectable Brahmans came to dwell there. It is difficult therefore to say that the contempt expressed in the above-mentioned passages was intended for the Brahman colonists and not for the aboriginal inhabitants.

That even respectable Brahmans dwelt there, that the Brahman colonists of Magadha were entitled to the same sort of respect as Brahmans of other provinces—that even their opinions were considered in connection with ceremonial practices, is proved by the case of Madhyama Prâtibodhi-putra (*Sâṁkhâyana Âraṇyaka*, vii. 13 ; the Poona edition reads 'Prati-*yodhi*-putra' instead of 'Prati*bodhi*-putra,' and gives the number of the passage as vii. 14, and not vii. 13, as given by Macdonell, *V.I.* under Magadha. Cf. also Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 112n.).

This case Oldenberg regards as proving the fact that dwelling in Magadha was rather unusual for a Brahman (*Buddha*, p. 400n.). Oldenberg's ground for so thinking is that the native place of the man has been specifically mentioned, which would not be thought necessary, if Brahmans were usually found in Magadha. But is that really so ? Is not a man's

dwelling place mentioned to help us in identifying him ? In those days, there were two ways of indicating a man's identity : either his parentage was given, as, *Gârgya* Bâlâki, Śvetaketu *Āruṇeya*, etc. ; or, his native place was mentioned, as Janaka *Vaideha*, Ajâtâśatru *Kâśya*, etc. So, the expression '*Magadhavâsî*' with reference to Prâtibodhiputra, is employed only to indicate his identity, and not because it was unusual for a Brahman to be a native of that place. What is somewhat out of the way here, is that the man's parentage *also* is given ; he is also said to be Pratibodhi-*putra*, lit. 'son of Pratibodhi.' But it only means that a double method of indicating the man's identity has been employed ; and this may be due to an over-cautiousness to avoid all possibility of mistake.[4]

It is not denied that the eastern districts were Brahmanised later than the Kuru-Pañcâlas ; nor is it denied that Brahmans came to settle there only gradually ; but it has also to be admitted that Brahmans did come and did settle there as early as the time to which the story of Videgha-Mâthava refers. There is nothing in the story to show that the author was describing a contemporaneous event. So, in his time the colonization may have been a completed process ; and numbers of Brahmans may have already gone there. And at the time when the hymns of the Atharva and the Yajus referred to above were composed, Brahmans must have begun pouring in into Magadha. So, on the face of it, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the texts above referred to speak of the Brahmans who established a colony there and not the aboriginal inhabitants. But probability is not proof ; and we can never be sure that the banter was intended against the Brahmans of those places, who, as has been supposed, had adopted degraded customs.

Besides, it is possible to over-rate the importance and significance of this so-called banter. It may as well be understood as an unconscious compliment. Some of the passages referred to above occur in connection with the Puruṣa-medha ceremony, not a very laudabie performance, to say the least. It is not inconceivable that a ceremony like this did not receive the unstinted assent of all ; it is not inconceivable that it provoked criticism ; and it is also imaginable that the eastern districts were averse to it. It would not be unnatural in that case for those who followed the practice to wish evil to those who opposed it. If that be the case, the Vedic hymns in question imply a compliment in disguise to the people of Magadha.

That the people of Videha-Magadha were not altogether negligible—that even customs and practices obtaining in that country were entitled to consideration, is also proved by references to this country by the commentator on Âśvalâyana's *Gṛhya-Sûtra* (i. 7. 2). Curiously enough, Max Müller in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (p. 52), has misquoted and mistranslated this passage. The text as given by Max Müller reads as follows :

Vaideheṣu sadya-eva vyavâyo dṛṣṭah ; gṛhyeṣu tu brahmacaryyam vihitam, &c.

The text according to the Bombay Edition is as follows :

. . . . *gṛhye tu* '*brahma-câriṇau trirâtram*' *iti brahmacaryyam vihitam*, &c.

Max Müller's reading obviously omits the quotation from earlier texts, *viz.* '*brahmacâriṇau trirâtram.*' And his translation is hopelessly inaccurate. He writes :

" Among the Vaidehas, for instance, one sees *at once* (sadya-eva) that *loose habits* (evidently this translates 'vyavâya') prevail, &c."

[4] Is the text correct ? The reading is : *atha ha sma asya putra âha madhyamah prâtibodhi* (? *yodhi*)-*putrah magadha-vâsî*, etc. Now, the man is first spoken of as '*his son*' (asya putra) referring to Hrasva Mâṇḍûkeya in the preceding paragraph. What then is meant by calling him '*son of Prâtibodhi*' (Prâtibodhi-putra) ? Or is it a proper name ? What is Madhyama then ? But neither Prâtibodhiputra nor Madhyama really looks like a proper name.

Supposing we left out the words 'Madhyama Prâtibodhiputra Magadhavâsî,' the continuity of the sentence would remain unbroken ; and there would be no difficulty about the meaning of the statement also. What then is the special significance of these—apparently at least, redundant—words ? Have the words crept into the texts from marginal notes of manuscripts ? One wonders,

Now, *sadyah* means 'on the same day' and *vyavâya* means 'sexual intercourse.' The discussion is as to when consummation of marriage should be allowed after the ceremony of marriage ; and the reference to the Vaidehas is intended only to draw attention to the local custom prevailing among them, which allows consummation on the day of the marriage. This, however, it is contended, is not strictly in accordance with the *Gṛhyas*. The passage, therefore, means :

"Among the Vaidehas, consummation on the *same day* is seen ; the *Gṛhyas*, however, prescribe restraint (*brahmacaryya*) for the couple for three nights."

There is a dictum, followed up to the present day, that a local custom (*deśâcâra*) also is entitled to obedience, provided of course it does not directly contravene an express injunction of the Śâstras. In the present case, all that is sought to be implied is that the local custom in question, being diametrically opposed to the Śruti, must not be allowed to prevail. The reference to the Vaidehas, is not an expression of contempt. Worse customs may easily be conceived to have prevailed elsewhere ; but there is no reference to any of them. The Vaidehas, however, were people who were entitled to consideration and could not be passed over without notice. Hence there is this reference to a custom prevailing among them.

We see therefore that the so-called slighting references to Videha-Magadha have, in some cases at any rate, been misunderstood ; and too much has been attempted to be deduced out of them. In the first place, the passages usually quoted do not always convey a sneer ; in the second place, it is not clear if the supposed sneer is against the Brahmans of the place or against the earlier inhabitants thereof. In later Sanskrit, the term 'Mâgadha' is found to mean a minstrel, as we have pointed out before, and not a Brahman. And these minstrels were known to be a mixed caste. (See Mahîdhara under *Yajus*, xxx. 5 ; Bhattabhâskara on *Taittirîyâ Brâhmaṇa*, iii. 4. 1. 1 ; and also commentary on *Lâṭyâyana Śrauta Sûtra*, viii. 6. 28 ; etc.)

After all, even if the supposed banter is a real banter and even if it be a banter against the Brahman colonists of Magadha, what does it prove ? Does it prove that the Upaniṣadic philosophy could not have its home among them ?

If there are sneers against the eastern districts and their inhabitants, there are sneers against the western districts as well. Macdonell himself gives some instances (*V. I.*, ii. 126) where 'the western tribes are mentioned with disapproval'. It is a primitive instinct of the human mind to enjoy fun at the cost of others ; and it is not the east alone, but the west as well has been now and then contemptuously spoken of by the proud authors of our Śruti literature. Sneers of this kind only express the feelings of the people of one locality against those of another ; they do not prove or disprove anything about the achievements of either.

There is another fact to be considered in this connection. Even if we admit that there are, in the *Yajurveda*, *Atharvaveda*, and some of the Brâhmaṇas, passages which may be construed as implying a slighting reference to Videha-Magadha, yet we ought to note that such slights are not to be met with in the Upaniṣads proper. In the Upaniṣads, references to Videha are frequent enough ; yet it is a significant fact that in no place in the Upaniṣads do we find any disparagement of the people of that territory. On the contrary, Janaka, King of Videha, Âjâtaśatru, King of Kâśî, are quite important persons there. Of course, the Kuru-Pañcâlas are not forgotten ; but the eastern people seem to have deserved more attention. This may easily lead to the hypothesis that the Upaniṣads were composed after the eastern districts had ceased to be thought of as a country of aliens and a country of doubtful virtues ; after, that is to say, they had become important seats of Âryan culture, when they could no longer be regarded with disrespect.

(*To be continued.*)

MAHÂRÂṢṬRA AND KANNAḌA.

BY A. MASTER.

THE earliest indication of the name Mahârâṣṭra occurs in the inscriptions at Nânaghâṭ, and other places (ranging from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) There the male donors have the appellation Mahâraṭhi, and the females Mahârâṭhinî.[1] Aśoka in his inscriptions uses the word *raṭṭika* to denote a tribe of rulers, and this tribe is also found as rulers at a later date. The family of Râṣṭrakûṭas is well-known to have held dominion in the Deccan in the eighth century, A.D. Sir Râmkriṣṇa Bhandârkar held that the *raṭṭas* called themselves Mahâraṭṭhis and gave their name to the area in which they lived. Mr. Kane justly rejects this theory (*ibid.*, p. 626). Dynasties rarely give their names to areas, and the term Mahârâṣṭra precedes any important dynasty of which there is any record. The connection with Raḍḍi suggested by Burnell (*South Indian Palæography*, p. x) is not very helpful, and indeed Kittel (*Kan. Dictionary*) derives the world Raḍḍi from *rât* a form of *râjâ*, and so indicates that *raṭṭa* or *raṭṭika* is not of Dravidian origin. Mr. Kane himself explains the term Mahârâṣṭra as " great or wide country " and gives his reasons, which do not appear to one quite to meet the needs of the case.

It is important to analyse the word *mahâ* meaning 'great', a meaning which includes the ideas of wideness or tallness. Mr. Kane seems to be correct in translating *râṣṭra* by 'country' rather than by 'kingdom'. The *Arthasâstra* uses the word in the meaning of 'revenue-producing tract' and 'country' as distinct from 'town' (Shamasastry ; translation, 2nd ed., p. 63 and pp. 143, 287). The word *râjya* is used for kingdom (*Ai. Brh.* v. ch. vi, heading) and *janapada* (*Ibid.*, vi, ch. 1) is, in describing the seven elements of sovereignty, used as an equivalent to *râṣṭra*. In later writers on the elements of sovereignty, the words *janapada* and *râṣṭra* are interchangeable. *Deśa* is another synonym. (Jayasval, *Hindu Polity*, vol. II, p. 249). The meaning of *râṣṭra* is therefore quite clearly 'country'.

Apart from the rather doubtful references to Mahârâṣṭra in the terms Mahârâṭhi of the inscriptions, the earliest use of the word occurs in the *Mahâvaṃśa* (fifth century A.D.) (Kane, *ibid.*, p. 621) in the form Mahâraṭṭa. It is distinguished from Aparantaka (the Konkan) and Vanavâsi (the south-western Dravidian tract). In fact, it is a term corresponding closely with the present term *deś*, which means the Deccan plateau as distinct from the Konkan. Previously the term used for whole tract south of the Narmadâ (Nerbudda) river or, in a limited sense, for the country between the Narmadâ and the Kriṣṇa was Daksiṇâpatha (Kane, *ibid.*, p. 620), and this term was continued for some centuries after the word Mahârâṣṭra was introduced and then apparently was shortened into what we now call Deccan (Gujarâtî, *dakhkhaṇ*). The word Deccan applies to both the limited and the wider areas.

The reason for the adoption of the new term Mahârâṣṭra cannot have been the size of the country, or its greatness. There were other tracts equally large and in the eyes of the Âryans, at least, much more important. It is not in the least likely that the name should have been given to the tract, by any but the inhabitants. It is probable that the term *dakṣiṇâpatha* and *dakṣiṇâtya* (southerner) had acquired a depreciatory significance (*cf.* its use in the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ*, act VI) and the visitors or immigrants to northern capitals, such as Ujjain, found it necessary to use a synonym. They would naturally use a translation of the name they themselves gave to their country.

Now Kannaḍa has been derived from the word Karinâḍu, black country. Mr. Narayana Rao (*JBBRAS.*, LXXIII, p. 491, 492) has pointed out that much of the southern Karṇâṭak is not black[2] ; and he might have added that although the term *karinel* is used for 'black soil,' *karinâḍu*, is not used in the sense of 'black tract'—but *erenâḍu* is used, *ere* meaning itself black, or black soil (Kittel, *Kan. dictionary*). This is the term used for the

[1] P. V. Kane, *JBBRAS.*, LXX, p. 622.

[2] While Surat and Broach districts contain much black soil.

black soil tract in Dhârwâr district, Bombay presidency. He suggests *karu-nâḍu*[3] or the high country,[4] as the Karṇâṭak was, unlike the southern Dravidian tracts, situated on high land ; and the suggestion seems perfectly sound.

In its Sanskritised form, Karṇâṭa, the word is found in the *Mahâbhârata* and may be as old as the third century B.C. (Narayana Rao, *ibid.*, p. 492). But we have no positive evidence as to the date. The high country stretches from the Kannaḍa country to the Narmadâ, and in fact geographically the term Kannaḍa might be applied to exactly the same area as that to which the name Mahârâṣṭra was applied. Now *karu* means not only " tall " but " great " (Kittel, *Kanarese Dictionary*) and it seems highly probable that the Prâkrit-speaking inhabitants of the North of the Deccan highlands simply translated the words *karu naḍu* into Mahâraṭṭa or Mâratṭha to designate the area from which they came. The Ândhra empire, which in *circa* B.C. 230 extended to the Narmadâ,[5] may have popularised the use of the term and have stabilized its Sanskrit form Mahârâṣṭra.

It may be asked why the Highlanders did not use the term Kannaḍa as Sanskritized into Karṇâṭa. But there is no evidence that the word was ever applied to the area of Mahârâṣṭra[6]. It is argued only that the Dravidians talked of highlands as *karu nâḍu* and translated this idea into Prâkrit. Kanarese was spoken as far north as the river Godâvarî in the ninth century A.D. (Nṛpatuṅga's *Kavirâjamârgga*, Ed. Patna, p. 12), but this is only evidence of the survival of a Dravidian form of speech in those parts and not of the name of the tract. Further the *raṭṭas, raṭṭikas* and *râṣṭrakûṭas* are not accounted for. I believe that the word means ' district,' a ruler of a district or tract—just like *bhojaka*, which clearly means a large landlord, or *peṭṭenilla*, which means apparently a ruler of a *peṭh* or *paṭṭan*, a market-town. *Râṣṭrakûṭa*, again, seems merely to mean lord of a tract, just as *râṣṭrapati* in the inscriptions means district officer (*Bom. Gaz.*, vol., pt. 1, p. 82) and *grâmakûṭa* means village headman (*ibid.* and Kaut., *Arthaśâstra*, book IV, ch. IV, suppression of wicked). The view of the *Bombay Gazetteer* seems correct, and I would not attempt to assign to *râṣṭra* the meaning of *deś* in the restricted sense—the uplands of *Mahârâṣṭra*.

Again, there is the mention of the three Mahârâṣṭrahas (Kane, *ibid.*, p. 622). They are mentioned in the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. These three tracts were a 99,000 (village) area and did not cover the area of the 7½ lâkh Dakṣiṇapâtha (Kane, *ibid.* 620) or the 7½ lâkh Raṭṭapâḍi[7] (*ibid.*, 633). They must denote three upland tracts divided by valleys or plains. Mr. Kane assigns these three tracts to Vidarbha (Berar), Mahârâṣṭra proper (Khandesh to Satara) and Kurtala (Sholapur, Kolhapur and the modern Karṇâṭak), and his view may be accepted. It may be pointed out that the meaning ' highlands ' for Mahârâṣṭra is here more appropriate than ' great kingdom.' Although a ruler might claim to be a king of the three great kingdoms, the term could hardly be used as a description, while the expression ' king of the three highlands ' would be sufficiently descriptive.

Another difficulty that arises is the restriction of the term Mahârâṣṭra by, say, the tenth century to the west of the peninsula. This I attribute to the rise of the Vidarbha kingdom after the fall of the Ândhras (A.D. 225) and again after the death of Harṣa (A.D. 647). It was a prominent kingdom (Kane, *ibid.*, p. 642) and would decline to be included in Mahârâṣṭra. Moreover, the term seems to have early acquired (like Kannaḍa) linguistic

3 The form *Karunaḍam* is used for the language, and *Karunâḍar* for the people in the Tamil classics. The giving of names from the physical feature of colour seems common in Tamil, cf. *Sengôḍ*=red hill, etc.—S.K.

4 The limit of Kannaḍa land when the Tamils gave them the name was past the plateau of Mysore in the north and began where the country slopes down from the Plateau of Mysore. The region of the Aśoka inscriptions in Mysore was the Vaḍugarmunai or the Vaḍuga (Kan. Baḍaga) frontier.—S.K.

5 Vincent Smith, *Oxford History*, 1923, p. 119.

6 But see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 133, n. 2. The term Karṇâta was used for Câlukyas of Kalyân, in A.D. 1000.

7 This appears to be derived from *raṭṭa* and Kanarese or Tamil *pâḍi*, a settlement or place—' the Raṭṭas' villages.'—The root is *paḍu*, to sit down. *Pâṭe* is a variant (Kittel, *Kanarese Dict.*).

associations. At first we may suppose that the word Mahârâṣṭrî was applied to the form of Prâkrit, not necessarily uniform or consistent, spoken by the southern highlander and was exactly equivalent to Dakṣinâtya. For this reason it was *the* Prâkrit (as Vararuci indicates) being not Mâgadhî, the limited court dialect of the Mauryas, nor Surâseni, the highly sophisticated dialect of the almost Âryanised Mathura population, nor Paiśâcî, the barbarous dialect of the so called cannibal northerners, but the general dialect understood and spoken by the southerners when they spoke Indo-Âryan and capable of logical handling, (especially where Sanskrit words were concerned), by them alone, as they still spoke their southern Dravidian tongues among themselves. In course of time, Vaidarbhî, without much reason except that Vidarbha was an important political entity, distinguished itself as a separate dialect from Mahârâṣṭri. To the east of Vidarbha and in the north-eastern highlands were spoken the Muṇḍârî languages, and to-day Marâṭhî stretches in the north from the south of the Surat district on the west coast to Raipur, quite close to the border of the Mundân area, which practically forms a linguistic barrier from that point to the north of the Mahânadî delta.[8] South and west of the Mundân area stretches the country of Dravidian speakers. Owing probably to the intenser adherence to their language evidenced by the existence of Sen-Tamiṛ (correct Tamil) which from a very early time rejected all Sanskrit words (Caldwell, *Comp Gram.* p. 80), the inhabitants of Kaliṅga and the eastern regions refused to adopt Prâkrit as their language, and Mahârâṣṭri flourished only in the west. The capitals of Vidarbha, Paithan, Vâtâpi (Bâdâmi) and later Poona, brought the centre of gravity further to the south-west, and it is known that the rulers of the various western dynasties, *e.g.*, Hâla and the Râṣṭrakûṭas and Câlukyas were earnest patrons of Prâkrit and Sanskrit as well as of the Dravidian tongues.

It is not necessary here to point out the close connection of the Marâṭhî with the Kanarese language, as the specific object of this article is to connect the terms Mahârâṣṭra and Kannaḍa. That, it is hoped, will form the subject of future articles.

MISCELLANEA.

MAMLUK-QULAMAN.

In this *Journal* and elsewhere I have frequently explained that the Oriental term *mamlûk* meant a foreigner of any race—sometimes of high-standing by birth—enslaved and forced to Islâm by Turks or other Muhammadan peoples. H. S. Longrigg, however, in his well-informed book, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, in describing the seventeenth century reigns of *mamlûks*, who ruled in Baghdâd, much after the fashion of the earlier "Slave Kings" of Delhi, gives a somewhat different view of them as observable in Irâq. Longrigg, in a footnote (p. 163) says that the *mamlûks* were "slaves, known in Arabia as *mamlûk* (plu. *mamalîk*), in Turkish as *qûla* or *qûlaman*, more commonly the latter. The Irâq historians in Turkish always so write them. Of Circassian race, they were known in Turkey from the earliest [Muhammadan] times . . . . In name [Gurjand] they are by majority natives of the Tiflis area of Georgia [Gurjistân]; but other closely similar Circassian breeds were included in the wild tribes—Lâz, Abazik and the like—who had migrated from the hills of their origin."

R. C. TEMPLE.

CEREMONIAL MURDER.

I have several times recorded in this *Journal* cases where unfortunate persons have been murdered in India for ceremonial reasons. Here is another instance, in the Faizâbâd District, recorded in *The Times* on 8th August 1927.

"At the Faizâbâd sessions Gayâdin Murao was tried for the murder of one Hubbâ. The defence was that the accused, who had been suffering from dysentery for three months, took the advice of Mohan Pâsî, an exorciser of evil spirits, who assured him that this illness was due to a spell cast over him by Hubbâ, who was under the influence of evil spirits. Gayâdin accordingly killed Hubbâ with two blows of a *lâthî* (iron-tipped staff). The sessions judge expressed unwillingness to inflict the death penalty, as the accused was virtually mad in thinking that with a *lâthî* he could expel the evil spirits from Hubbâ; so he sentenced him to transportation for life."

There have been several persons transported to the Andaman Penal Settlement for similar murders.

R. C. TEMPLE.

8 See maps *Linguistic Survey of India.* (Muṇḍâ, Dravidian and Marâṭhî.)

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE IDEA OF CHAKRAVARTIN.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D.

KAUṬALYA in his *Arthaśâstra* defines the extent of a Chakravartin's domain. The text published in Dr. Shâma Śâstri's edition runs as follows: "deśaḥ prithivî; tasyâṃ Himavat-samudr-ântaram-udîchînaṃ yôjana-sahasra-parimâṇam-atiryak chakravarti-kshêtraṃ" (p. 340). The passage occurs in precisely the same form in Prof. Jolly's edition (p. 205). The late Mahâmahôpâdhyâya T. Gaṇapati Śâstri's edition also presents the same text—(pt. III, p. 45) with only one short difference, namely, that it has the word *tiryak* instead of *atiryak* of the preceding editions. Curiously enough, practically the same passage is met with in Śaṃkarârya's commentary of *Kâmandakîya-Nîtisâra* so as to leave no doubt that it is a quotation from Kauṭalya's *Arthaśâstra*. It occurs in his gloss on Canto I. v. 39 and runs as follows: "tasyâṃ Himavat-samundr-ântaram-udîchînaṃ nava-yôjana-sahasra-pramâṇaṃ tiryak Chakravarti-kshêtram." This text differs from that of the Mysore edition in two important respects. First it has *nava-yôjana-sahasra-pramâṇaṃ* instead of *yôjana-sahasra-parimâṇaṃ* and *tiryak* instead of *atiryak*. Śaṃkarârya must have taken this text from the manuscript of Kauṭalya's *Arthaśâstra* that was before him. And the question arises: which of the two variants represents the correct text?

Scholars probably do not know that what Kauṭalya states about the sphere of the Chakravartin is set forth in greater detail in the Purâṇas. The passage in question occurs in no less than two Purâṇas,—the *Vâyu* and the *Matsya*. The first Purâṇa (chap. 45, v. 72 & ff.) has the following:

atra vô varṇayishyâmi varshê-smin Bhâratê prajâḥ idaṃ tu madhyamaṃ chitraṃ śubh-âśubha-phal-ôdayaṃ uttaraṃ yat samudrasya Himavad-dakshiṇaṃ cha yat varshaṃ yat-Bhârataṃ nâma yatr-êyaṃ Bhâratî prajâ bharaṇâch-cha prajânâṃ vai Manur-Bharata uchyatê nirukta-vachanâch-ch-aiva varshaṃ tad-Bhârataṃ smṛitaṃ tataḥ svargaś-cha môkshaś-cha madhyaś-ch-ântaś-cha gamyatê na khalv-anyatra martyânâṃ bhûmau karma vidhîyatê Bhâratasy-âsya varshasya nava bhêdâḥ prakîrtitâḥ samudr-ântaritâ jñêyâs-tê tv-agamyâḥ parasparaṃ Indradvîpaḥ Kasêruś-cha Tâmravarṇî Gabhastimân Nâgadvîpas-tathâ Saumyô Gandharvas-tv-atha Vâruṇaḥ ayaṃ tu navamas-têshâṃ dvîpaḥ sâgara-saṃvṛitaḥ yôjanânâṃ sahasraṃ tu dvîpô-yaṃ dakshiṇ-ôttaraṃ âyatô hy-âKumarikyâd-âGangâ-prabhavâch-cha vai tiryag-uttara-vistîrṇaḥ sahasrâṇi nav-aiva tu dvîpô hy-upanivishṭô-yaṃ Mlêchchhair-antêshu nityaśaḥ pûrvê Kirâtâ hy-asy-ântê paśchimê Yavanâḥ smṛitâḥ brâhmaṇâḥ kshatriyâ vaiśyâ madhyê śûdrâś-cha bhâgaśaḥ ijyâ-yuddha-vaṇijyâbhir-varttayantô vyavasthitâḥ têshâṃ saṃvyavahârô-yaṃ varttatê tu paras-paraṃ dharm-ârtha-kâma-saṃyuktô varṇânâṃ tu sva-karmasu saṃkalpa-pañcha-mânâṃ tu âśramâṇâṃ yathâ-vidhi iha svarg-âpavarg-ârthaṃ pravṛittir-yêshu mânushî yas-tv-ayaṃ navamô dvîpas-tiryag-âyata uchyatê kṛitsnaṃ jayati yô hy-ênaṃ sa samrâḍ-iha kîrtyatê ayaṃ lôkas-tu vai samrâḍ-antarîkshô virâṭ smṛitaḥ svarâḍ-anyaḥ smṛito lôkaḥ punar-vakshyâmi vistaraṃ.

Practically the same passage as the above is met with in the *Matsya-Purâṇa* (chap. 114, v. 5 & ff.). It runs as follows:

ath-âhaṃ varṇayishyâmi varshê-smin Bhâratê prajâḥ bharaṇât-prajanâch-ch-aiva Manur-Bharata uchyatê Nirukta-vachanaiś-ch-aiva varshaṃ tad-Bhârataṃ smṛitaṃ yataḥ svargaś-cha môkshaś-cha madhyamaś-ch-âpi hi smṛitaḥ na khalv-anyatra mar-tyânâṃ bhûmau karma-vidhiḥ smṛitaḥ Bhâratasy-âsya varshasya nava bhêdân-nibô-dhata Indradvîpaḥ Kasêruś-cha Tâmraparṇô Gabhastimân Nâgadvîpas-tathâ Saumyô Gandharvas-tv-atha Vâruṇaḥ ayam tu navamaś-têshâṃ dvîpaḥ sâgara-saṃvṛitaḥ yôja-nânâṃ sahasraṃ tu dvîpô-yaṃ dakshiṇ-ôttaraḥ âyatas-tu Kumârî tô Gaṅgâyâḥ pravah-âvadhiḥ tiryag-ûrdhvaṃ tu vistîrṇaḥ sahasrâṇi daś-aiva tu dvîpô hy-upanivishṭô-yaṃ Mlêchchhair-antêshu sarvaśaḥ Yavanâś-cha Kirâtâś-cha tasy-ântê pûrva-paśchimê Brâh-maṇâḥ Kshatriyâ Vaiśyâ madhyê Śûdrâś-cha bhâgaśaḥ ijyâ-yuta-vaṇijyâdi vartayantô

vyavasthiâḥ têshâṃ sa vyavahârô-yaṃ vartanaṃ tu parasparaṃ dharm-ârtha-kâma-saṃyuktô varṇanâṃ tu svakarmasu saṃkalpa-pamchamânâṃ tu âśramâṇâṃ yathâ-vidhi iha svarg-âpavarg-ârthaṃ pravṛittir-iha mânushê;yas-tv-ayaṃ mânavô dvîpas-tiryagyâmaḥ prakîrtitaḥ ya enaṃ jayatê kṛitsnaṃ sa samrâḍ-iti kîrtitaḥ ayaṃ lôkas-tu vai samrâḍ-antarikshajitâṃ smṛitaḥ svarâḍ-asau smṛitô lôkaḥ punar-vakshyâmi vistarât.

If we compare both these passages, we find that they are practically identical. That of the *Matsya-Purâṇa*, corrected in the light of the passage from the *Vâyu* may be translated as follows : " I will now describe the peoples of this continent (named) Bhârata. Manu is called Bharata, because of his sustenance (*bharaṇa*) of the peoples. According to the rules of Nirukta that continent is (therefore) known as Bhârata, for which (alone) heaven, emancipation or the Middle Path has been enjoined (by the scriptures). Nowhere else on this earth has Action (*karma*) been laid down for mankind. Know (now) the nine divisions of this Bhârata continent, namely, Indradvîpa, Kasêru, Tâmraparṇi, Gabhastimat, Nâgadvîpa, Saumya, Gandharva, Vâruṇa and this ninth peninsula (*dvîpa*) surrounded by the ocean. This *dvîpa* is one thousand *yôjanas* long from north to south from Kumârî (Cape Comorin) to the source of the Ganges and is extended nine thousand in the north in an oblique—direction. This *dvîpa* is on all sides on its outskirts occupied by the Mlêchchhas. On the eastern extremity are the Kirâtas and on the western the Yavanas. In between are settled down the Brâhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śûdras carrying on sacrifices, fighting, commerce and so forth according to (their) part. Those classes (*varṇas*), following their respective duties, carry on mutual intercourse in consonance with *dharma*, *artha*, and *kâma*. The (four) Âśramas with Saṃkalpa (vow for rituals) as the fifth display activity here among men as prescribed, for (the attainment) of heaven or emancipation. This ninth *dvîpa* is called *tiryag-âyata* (oblique-long). He who conquers it whole is designated Samrâṭ. This world is known as Samrâṭ, the ether world Virâṭ, the world other (than these) Svarâṭ."

It will be seen from the above translation that India forms but a part of Bhârata-varsha, being its ninth and last division. The former is called *tiryag-âyata* because, as explained in the Purâṇas, it is (one thousand *yôjanas*) *âyata* (long) from north to south, from the source of the Ganges right down to Cape Comorin, and is (nine thousand *yôjanas*) *tiryak* (obliquely) in the north. And we are further told that he who conquers this whole region, that is, the whole of India, is called Samrâṭ. There can be no doubt that Kauṭalya's Chakravartin is identical with the Samrâṭ of the Purâṇas and that his details about the extent of the Chakravartin's domain are taken from that source. And we are now in a position to answer the question : which of the readings of the above passage is correct ? If we first consider the passage in Dr. Shama Sastri's edition, we find that the words *udîchîna* and *atiryak* have no meaning there. Besides, even though these words were deleted, the passage would be describing but half of India. It is only the passage from Śamkarârya's commentary that brings out the essential and nearly full tenor of what the Purâṇas tell us about the boundaries and dimensions of India.

We have seen that the passage in the *Vâyu-Purâṇa* is practically the same as that occurring in the *Matsya*. Some verses again from that passage are traceable also in the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* (II. 3). It thus seems that this description of India was contained in the original Purâṇa after which model the *Vâyu*, *Matsya* and *Vishṇu*, the earliest Purâṇas now surviving, were cast. A date for the passage is furnished by the remarks that the Mlêchchhas were not then settled in any part of India but on its outskirts and that on its western extremity were lying the Yavanas. These conditions are fulfilled only about the advent of the Maurya power. The passage thus seems to be contemporaneous with Kauṭalya. The idea of a Samrâṭ or Chakravartin conquering the whole of India appears however to have arisen at an earlier period. The universal ruler has been designated by the *Aitarêya-Brâhmaṇa* (VIII. 15) *Samantaparyâyî*, as being possessed of the whole earth (*sârvabhauma*) and as the sole ruler (*êka-râṭ*) of the earth bordered by the ocean.

VEDANTA AND CHRISTIAN PARALLELS:

BY A. GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN.

The Trinity.

VEDANTA axiomatically adopts the definition of God (Brahman) to be: 'Janmâdy asya Yàtaḥ' (*Brahma Sûtra*) or God is that to which (to whom) is due the birth, life and dissolution of the Universe. The Upanishadic passage on which the *Brahma Sûtra* is constructed is :—

'Yato vâ imâni bhûtâni jâyante yena jâtâni
jîvanti yat prayanty abhiśamviśanti.'

Bhûtâni is literally that which comes to exist; or existence (quiddity) as an abstraction. Here then we have *Existence* as the one fact which is axiomatic. This Existence, whether it is in the form of manifestation or non-manifestation, owes its existence by virtue of something, which is to it causal, and which is given a name, to whichever language the name belong. In the Vedic language, the nomen is Brahman. Differential existence then evolves from Brahman, is sustained through a series of living transformations, which have an order and rhythm about them. The Law of Periodicity prevails, which is a curve, not a straight line, so that the curve starts from a given point, works round a spatio-temporal system, and returns to the point. The system is a closed system, corresponding to Einsteins' theory of relativity. Beyond this curvilinear system lies the region, which is not therefore spatio-temporal; in other words it is transcendental, or transcendence itself as an abstraction. That we have *existence*, not *negation* is hence a necessity of thought. Religion has this as its fundamental thought. The term *abhisaṁviśanti*, meaning 'enters,' is of the utmost importance to Vedânta. The term literally means entry in all its entirety, which signifies that the manifestation totally disappears, but remains in absorption. Where? In Brahman, God. When all else is not apparent, God alone remains as an eternal and infinite entity or existence. Here the terms eternal in reference to time and infinite in reference to space import the idea that God transcends all spatio-temporal systems or manifestations. These are events in the history of God so to say. Existence is *system* which also means Reality or Truth. We have thus:

Brahma (God) = 'Satyam Jñânam Anantam Brahma,' *i.e.*, God is Existence which is Truth and Reality; and He is Limitless. He is besides Knowledge.

Now we have in the first article of the Christian Religion the definition of God as 'the one (*ekam*) living (*chit*) and true God, everlasting'; that he is the 'maker' and preserver of all things both 'visible and invisible'; and that he is 'of infinite power, wisdom and goodness'. These attributes, especially wisdom, are all subsumable under the one term 'knowledge.' Scholars may thus discern the commonness of fundamental ideas about Deity contained in the Vedânta and in the Christian Religion.

The first article further speaks of the Godhead as comprised of the three persons, or Trinity, namely, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, 'of one substance, power and eternity'. Students might here consider the Vedântic Trinity, Mother, Father and Teacher, as contained in the passage :—

'Mâtṛi-devo bhava, Pitṛi devo bhava, Âchârya-devo bhava' is God who is manifest to us as the Father, which would be the Father of the Christian Trinity; the Mother, which would be the son of the Triad; and Teacher, the Holy Ghost, or the Church, which continues the function of the Father and the Mother. Vedânta has another Trinity comprised in the Holy Pranava AUM, of which A, represents Fatherhood; U, Motherhood which is the Teacherhood, and M, the Sonhood. Philosophically A, is the *satyam*, reality or existence which is God; M. is the soul or the kingdom of souls; and U, the link or intermediary power which link the Souls with God, or God with Souls. Inasmuch as these three elements are never separable from each other, but subsist in a unity or a complex, we may see the Christian idea of 'one substance', of the Trinity in the unity: *Ekam ev-âdvitîyam.*

We have the theological Trinity besides of the Vedântic Brahmâ, the creator, Vishṇu, the preserver, and Śiva, the destroyer, which is here not considered, except by stating that this

Trinity is co-substantial or of one substance. The Christian may say that the world comes out of nothing, whereas the Vedântist says existence comes out of existence. But the nothing of the Christian does not negate the existence of God before the world became. And if the world came out of the *Will* of God, this is parallel to the Vedântic saying that *Sat* (existence) came out of *Sat*. Nor is the idea of nothing wanting in the Vedânta, for we have: *asatas saj-jâyeta* (*Chândogya Up*:) but *asat* is explained as the causal absolute to the effected relative.

Philosophically, the idea involved in the Trinity, is that God is a unity. God existed in the beginning, one only. When God began manifesting or creating, He split Himself into two natures, the subjective and the objective, thinker and thought, figuratively expressed as Father and Son; and the bond between the two is the Holy Ghost. Max Müller writes of Eckhart's mysticism thus: "Thus the Godhead the Divine Essence or *ousia*, becomes God in Three persons. In thinking himself, the Father thinks everything that is within Him, that is, ideas, the *logoi* of the unseen world?" (pp. 512-13, *Theosophy or Psychological Religion*). In the light of what Max Müller says, *viz.*, 'that a study of the Upanishads is often the very best preparation for a proper understanding of Eckhart's *Tracts and Sermons*. The intellectual atmosphere is just the same, and he who has learnt to breathe in the one, will soon feel at home in the other' (p. 511. *id.*), we invite our readers to the idea contained in *Nara-Nârâyaṇa*, the complex Godhood, which has Nara, the objective, and Nârâyaṇa, the subjective potential in its bosom. Nârâyaṇa is basically One. The One educed (begat according to Christian phrasing) from its own self the Nara; and a relation between the two also came into existence. This is the Logos (Lakshmî or Śrî or Vidyâ, the Word, the divine *saṅkalpa* of the Vedânta system). This is religion or relationship between God and Nature (*saṁbandha*, which is literally *religio*). The particular application of this doctrine to man is clear, when man[1] is singled out from Nature in general. Nara would thus be the objective man, and Nârâyaṇa the subjective Godhead; and these have indiscerptible relation, expressed by the Logos. Coming to the sacred Vedântic syllable AUM, the mystery of the Trinity becomes apparent, when *A* stands for the Godhead, *M* for man or manhood, and *U* is expressive of the relation between them. In figurative language, *A* is Father (*pitâ*) in one aspect; *M* is Son (*putra*) in one aspect, (there are eight more aspects); and *U* is the Logoic *nexus*, Lakshmî, Śrî, or the Mother. In this Vedântic metaphor, we have Father, Son and Mother, and only in the place of Mother, the term Holy Ghost gives the Trinity the Christian hue. Those who have studied Vedânta are conversant with the *Triputi* or God considered as a philosophical Trinity, *viz.*, *jñâtṛi*, *jñeya and jñâna i.e.*, the knower, the known (thing) and knowledge (the connecting link), or the thinker, the thought (thing), and thinking, the link. The meaning of creation is nature-making collectively and Soul-making particularly; and the process of making is the relation. In Eckhart's language: 'God (or Father) is always working, and His working is to beget the Son.' The philosophic ethic consequent on these notions is that there is God in Nature, and God in Soul (Man), and both are related, which means, they are identical and in their ultimate essence a Unity. The Trinity is because of the Unity being a Totum or Complex.

[1] Man or Soul is the particular individual, the representative of the group soul, the Demiurge, the *Son*, (the masculine Brahmâ emanated from the neutral Brahman, the *Father*).

WHO WERE THE IMPERIAL PRATIHARAS OF KANAUJ ?

BY R. R. HALDER.

THE Imperial Pratihâras of Kanauj seem to have derived their family name from the office of a *pratihâra*[1] (door-keeper) and not from the name of their primeval man like the Chauhânas, Chaulukyas, Paramâras, Guhilas, etc. This view derives support from the Gwalior *praśasti*[2] of Bhôja, which says that in the Solar race, Manu, Ikshvâku, and others were born. In their race was born Râma, whose younger brother Lakshmaṇa was his (Râma's) doorkeeper (*pratihâra*), in whose family, which bore the emblem of Pratihâra, Nâgabhaṭa (I, the founder of the Imperial dynasty) appeared. It further records that Vatsarâja, the son of his nephew Dêvarâja,[3] wrested the empire from the famous house of Bhaṇḍi. Thus it traces the origin of the Pratihâras of Kanauj and, in addition, explains the significance of the word 'Pratihâra'. In old days, the office of a Pratihâra was open to anyone, who could secure the confidence of a king in watching the safety of his person by standing at his palace-gate, and consequently, there arose Pratihâras of different castes, such as Brâhmaṇa[4], Gurjara[5], Kshatriya[6], Châpôtkaṭa[7] (Châvaḍâ) and Raghuvaṁśî, of whom the last-named gradually came to be the rulers of a very large part of the country.

Before Kanauj became their capital, the Imperial Pratihâra dynasty seems to have ruled over the Gurjara-country[8] in Mârwâṛ, as is indicated in the Waṇî[9] and Râdhanpur[10] inscriptions of Gôvindarâja III, dated in Śâka Saṁvat 730 (A.D. 808), which say that Dhôrâ (Dhruvarâja, the Râshṭrakûṭa king of Deccan), by his matchless arms, quickly drove to Maru (Mârwâṛ) Vatsarâjâ, who was proud of having seized the fortune of royalty of the Gauḍa country, and wrested from him (Vatsarâjâ) the two white (royal) umbrellas originally belonging to the king of Gauḍa. The Baroḍâ[11] inscription of Karkarâja II, dated in Śâka Saṁvat 734 (A.D. 812) says

1 The word 'Pratihâra' seems to be analogous to Panchakula (Panchôli) which denotes an office or rank, and not a caste or creed.

2 श्रेय: कन्दवपुस्ततस्समभवद्भास्वानतश्चापरे मान्विक्ष्वाकुककुस्थमूलपृथव : क्ष्मापालकल्पद्रुमा : ॥ २ ॥
तेषां वंशे सुजन्मा क्रमनिहितपदे धाम्नि वज्रेषु घोरं राम : पौलस्त्याहिन्श्रं (हिंस्रं) क्षतविहतिसमित्कर्म्म चक्रे पलाशै: ।
श्लाघ्यस्तस्यानुजोसौ मघवमदमुषो मेघनादस्य संख्ये सौमित्रिस्तीव्रदण्ड: प्रतिहरणविधेर्य: प्रतीहार आसीत् ॥ ३ ॥
तद्वन्शे (वंशे) प्रतिहारकेतनभृति त्रैलोक्यरक्षास्पदे देवो नागभट: पुरातनमुनेर्मूर्त्तिर्ब्बभूवाद्भुतम् ।

. . . .

ख्या (ताद्) भण्डिकुलान्मदोत्कटकरिप्राकारदुर्ल्लङ्घतो य: साम्राज्यमधिज्यकार्म्मुकसखा संख्ये हठादग्रहीत् ।
एक: क्षत्रियपुङ्गवेषु च यशोगुर्व्वीन्धुरं प्रोद्वहन्निक्ष्वाको: कुलमुन्नतं सुचरितैश्चक्रे स्वनामाङ्कितं ॥ ७ ॥

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1903-4, pp. 280-81.

3 This Dêvarâja is different from Dêvarâja of the Bhaṭṭi clan, who is said to have been defeated by the Pratihâra king Śiluka (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, 98), to whose family possibly the Imperial Pratihâras belonged (*Ibid.*, p. 90). Kakka, the fourth in succession from Śiluka, married Padminî of the Bhaṭṭi clan and is said to have been the contemporary of Dêvarâja of the Imperial family.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 88.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 265.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 88. The Pratihâras of Maṇḍor being the descendants of Harichandra by his *Kshatriya* wife Bhadrâ, are known as Kshatriya Pratihâras. The sons of Brâhmaṇa father born of Kshatriya mother were called Kshatriyas.

यत्तु ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायामुत्पादित: क्षत्रिय एव भवतीति...इति शंखस्मरणम् ।

Yâjñavalkyasmriti, Âchârâdhyâya, śloka, 91, *ṭikâ* (*Miâtksharâ*).

7 See *Saṅgîtaratnâvalî* of Sômarâja, verse 5.

8 The old Gurjara-country included the whole of the eastern part of Mârwâṛ and a portion of the present Gujarât as far as the river Soḍhi in the Bombay Presidency.

9 हेलास्वीकृतगौडराज्यकमलामत्तं प्रवेश्याचिराद्दुर्मार्गं मरुमध्यमप्रतिव (ब) लैर्यो वत्सरो (रा) जंव (ब) लै: ।
गौडीयं शरदिन्दुपादधवलं छत्रद्वयं को (के) वलं तस्मान्नाहृत तद्यशोपि ककुभां प्रान्ते स्थितं तत्क्षणात् ॥

Ind. Ant., vol. XI, p. 157, ll. 11-13.

10 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 243, ll. 12-14.

11 गौडेन्द्रवङ्गपतिनिर्ज्जयदुर्व्विदग्धसद्गूर्ज्जरेश्वरादिगर्गलतां च यस्य ।
नीत्वा भुजं विहतमालवरक्षणार्थं स्वामी तथान्यमपि राज्यछ (फ) लानि भुंक्ते ॥

Ind. Ant., vol. XII, p. 160, ll. 39-40.

that Karkarâja, in order to protect (the king of) Mâlava, made his arm to be a door-bar to the lord of the Gurjara-country (*Gurjareśvara*)[12], who had become evilly inflamed by his victories over the kings of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. From these inscriptions it appears that Vatsarâja, the Imperial Pratihâra, who is referred to in the Barodâ inscription also, was the lord of the Gurjara-country and ruled in Mârwâṛ about the end of the eighth century A.D. The capital of the early Imperial Pratihâras too seems to have been Bhînmâl, since it was the capital of their predecessors, namely, the Gurjaras and the Châvaḍâs respectively. The Gurjaras were different[13] from the Châvaḍâs, as is described in Pulakeśi's grant of Kalachuri Saṁvat 490 (A.D. 738-9). From the *Brâhmasphuṭasiddhânta*[14] of Brahmagupta, a resident of Bhînmâl, composed in Śâka Saṁvat 550 (A.D. 628), it is known that Vyâghramukha of the Châpa (Châpôtkaṭa, Châvôṭaka, Châvaḍâ) dynasty was ruling at Bhînmâl at the period of composition of the book. The reign of the Châvaḍâs lasted there up to Kalachuri Saṁvat 490 (A.D. 738-9), as appears from the above grant[15] of Pulakêśi, which says that the decline of the Châvôṭaka (Châvaḍâ) kingdom was brought about by the Arab invasion. After the Châvaḍâs, it appears, their reign over the Gurjara country in Mârwâṛ passed into the hands of the Imperial Pratihâras between K.S. 490 (A.D. 738-9) and Ś.S. 730 (A.D. 808), *i.e.*, between the periods of mention of the destruction of the Châp kingdom in the Pulakeśi's grant and of Vatsarâja's rule in Mârwâṛ as inferred from the Râdhanpur and Waṇî inscriptions. The Châvaḍâs were ruling at Bhînmâl at that time and their rule elsewhere[16] had not yet been established.

Before the Châvaḍâs, Bhînmâl was being ruled over by the Gurjaras. The Kâlañjara[17] inscription of about the eighth century A.D., as also the inscription[18], dated V.S. 900 (A.D. 843), of Bhôjadêva (I) respectively record the name of Maṅgalânaka (modern Mangalânâ, about 28 miles N.N.E. of Ḍiḍwânâ), Siwâ (modern Sewâ, seven miles from Ḍiḍwânâ in the N.E. of Jodhpur) and of Ḍêṇḍavânaka (Ḍiḍwânâ), as situated in the *Gurjaramaṇḍala* and *Gurjaratrâ-bhûmi*, *i.e.*, in Gurjara country. Hiuen Tsiang in his visit to Mârwâr in about V.S. 697 (A.D. 641) describes the Gurjara country and speaks of Pi-lo-mo-lo (Bhillamâla, Bhînmâl) as its capital[19]. It is most likely that Bhînmâl was at the time of the pilgrim's visit being ruled over by the Châp[20] (Châvaḍâ) dynasty, for, between Ś.S. 550 (A.D. 628) and K.S. 490 (A.D. 738-9), the Châvaḍâs were the rulers at Bhînmâl and other parts of Mârwâṛ, as may be inferred from the above. From the Kâlañjara inscription and that of Bhôjadêva, it

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12 *Gurjarêśvara* here means the lord of the Gurjara country.

Cf. लटेश्वरस्य सेनान्यमसामान्यपराक्रम : । ... ३ जगाल मालवेशस्य करवाल: करादपि ॥ १०

Sômêśvara's *Kîrtikaumudî*, canto II.

13 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, Appendix, No. 404.
Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, pt. I, p. 109.

14 श्रीचापवंशतिलके श्रीव्याघ्रमुखे नृपे शकनृपाणां । पंचाशत्संयुक्तैर्वर्षशतैः पंचभिरतीतैः ॥ ७ ॥

ब्राह्मःस्फुटसिद्धांतः सज्जनगणितगोलवित्प्रीत्यै । त्रिंशद्वर्षेण कृतो जिष्णुसुतब्रह्मगुप्तेन ॥ ८ ॥ Canto 24.

See also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, p. 192.

15 *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress*, Arian Section, p. 231.
Also *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 109.

शरज्ञसीरमुद्गरोद्दारिणि तरलतरतारतरवारिधारितोदितसैन्धवकच्छेल्लसौराष्ट्रचावोटकमौर्यगुर्जरादिराज्ये
निःशेषदाक्षिणात्यक्षितिपतिजिगीषया दक्षिणापथप्रवेश ......

16 The Châp dynasty had also its kingdoms at Anhilavâḍa (Pâṭaṇa) and Vaḍhavâṇa (Kâṭhiâwâṛ) founded later on in the eighth and ninth century A.D., respectively.

17 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, p. 210, note 3.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 211. The date given in the text on p. 212 is wrong. The correct date is taken from the original plate preserved in the Râjpûtâna Museum, Ajmer.

19 Beal; *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II, p. 270. On this page in note 81, Pi-lo-mo-lo is wrongly identified with Bâlmêr in Râjpûtâna. The same is done in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. II., p. 70.

20 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, p. 192.
For Dr. R. C. Majumdar's views, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 18, p. 92.

may be seen that the northern boundary of the modern Jodhpur State was nearly identical with that of the Gurjara-country, undoubtedly so called after the Gurjaras who once ruled over it. The rule of the Gurjaras in Mârwâṛ must have commenced after the decline of the Kshatrapa power and ended sometime before A.D. 628, the date of the Châvadâ's rule at Bhînmâl (Bhillamâl, Śrîmâl).

According to the Jodhpur[21] inscription of Bâuka, dated V.S. 894 (A.D. 837), originally found in a Vishṇu temple at Maṇḍor, the wine-drinker (Kshatriya) sons of Harichandra born of his Kshatriya wife Bhadrâ ruled at Maṇḍor (Mâṇḍavyapura). The date of Harichandra, the founder of the Kshatriya Pratihâras of Maṇḍor and 13th predecessor of Bâuka, whose known date is V.S. 894 (A.D. 837), will fall in the fourth quarter of the 6th century A.D. by assigning an average rule of twenty years to each of the rulers. Thus it appears that two ruling families—the Kshatriya Pratihâras at Maṇḍor, while the Gurjaras, the Châvaḍâs and the Imperial Pratihâras successively at Bhînmâl—ruled side by side in Mârwâṛ. How long the Pratihâras (Parihâras) of Maṇḍor ruled there is not known; but the discovery of an inscription[22] at Maṇḍor in Jodhpur State shows that the throne of Maṇḍor was transferred afterwards to the Chauhâns of Nâḍol, who ruled there about the middle of the twelfth century A.D.

It is, however, difficult to state in what way the Pratihâras of Maṇḍor were related to the Imperial Pratihâras, who first ruled at Bhînmâl and then at Kanauj. It has been known that Kakka, the Pratihâra ruler of Maṇḍor gained fame at Mudgagiri (Monghyr in Bihâr) in the fighting with the king of Gauḍa[23]. It is also known from the above inscription of Gôvindarâja III that it was Vatsarâja of the Imperial Pratihâra line, who is said to have defeated the king of Gauḍa and taken from him the two white (royal) umbrellas. Thus it appears that Kakka, being a feudatory to Vatsarâja,[24] fought on his side at Mudgagiri against the Gauḍas. From this it may be inferred that the Imperial Pratihâras and the Pratihâras of Maṇḍor were the two different lines of rulers in Mârwâṛ—the one supreme at their capital Bhînmâl and the other, probably subordinate, at their capital Maṇḍor.[25] The origin of the former is described in the Gwalior *praśasti* of Bhôja which distinctly states that Nâgabhaṭa (I) was the first king and that Vatsarâja (the 4th from him) wrested the empire from the Bhaṇḍi clan.

Having cleared the position so far let us now come to the subject proper. Antiquarians and learned men are apt to describe the Imperial Pratihâras of Kanauj as Gurjara-Pratihâras[26]. In fact, there is no definite proof to connect them with the Gurjaras. That they belonged to the Solar race is evident from the following versions :—

(1) The Gwalior *praśasti* of Bhôja speaks of Nâgabhaṭa, the founder of the dynasty, as belonging to the Solar race, and of Vatsarâja, as the glorifier of the race of Ikshvâku.

(2) The Harshanâtha inscription of Vigraharâja, dated V.S. 1030 (A.D. 973) tells us that Guvaka (one of the early Chauhâns of Sâmbhar) attained pre-eminence as a hero in the court

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21 विप्र : श्रीहरिचन्द्राख्य : पत्नी भद्रा च क्षतृ(त्रि)या । ...
तेन श्रीहरिचन्द्रेण परिणीता द्विजात्मजा ।
द्वितीया क्षतृ(त्रि)या भद्रा महाकुलगुणान्विता ॥
प्रतिहारा द्विजा भूता ब्राह्मण्यां येभवन्सुता : ।
राज्ञी भद्रा च यान्सूते ते भूता मधुपायिन : ॥
Inscription preserved in the Râjpûtâna Museum, Ajmer.

22 *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1909-10, p. 101.

23 ततोपि श्रीयुतः कक्कः पुत्रो जातो महामतिः । यशो मुद्रगिरौ लब्धं येन गौडै(डैः) समं रणे ॥ [२४ ×]
Verse 24 of the Jodhpur inscription. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 98.

24 For Dr. R. C. Majumdar's views, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 94.

25 It is not known, however, whether the Pratihâras of Maṇḍor were subordinates to the Imperial Pratihâras prior to Vatsarâja.

26 Vide *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 465-69. Also *JBBRAS*, 1905 (Extra number), pp. 413-33. And *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 100-101.

of Nâgâvalôka (Nâgabhaṭa II. of Kanauj), and that (his descendant Siṁharâja) kept in confinement many princes till the universal sovereign of the earth in Raghu's race came to him for their liberation[27].

Since, during the period in question, the universal sovereigns in Northern India were the Imperial Pratihâras of Kanauj, the King Nâgâvalôka of the above inscription must refer to Nâgabhaṭa II. of Kanauj, who was also called Nâgâvalôka. From the version of the above inscription, Guvaka seems to be a subordinate to Nâgâvalôka. It, therefore, follows that Siṁharâja, the sixth[28] in descent from him (Guvaka), was also subordinate to his contemporary Pratihâra kings of Kanauj. Since Siṁharâja was the father of Vigraharâja (II) whose known date is v.s. 1030 [29] (A.D. 973), he should have been contemporary with Dêvapâla or Vijayapâla of Kanauj, whose known dates are s. 1005 [30] and s. 1016 [31] (A.D. 948 and 959) respectively. The term 'Raghu's race' must therefore refer to one of them.

(3) The poet Râjaśêkhara calls his pupil Mahêndrapâla of Kanauj 'Raghukulatilaka'[32] (gem of Raghu's race) in his *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* and 'Raghugrâmaṇî'[33] (leader of Raghu's race) in his *Bâlabhârata*.

Thus we see that the Imperial Pratihâras of Kanauj were a race of Pratihâra rulers, who belonged to the Solar (*Raghu's*) race and not to the Gurjara clan. To call them, therefore, Gurjara-Pratihâras does not seem to be justified. They remained the paramount sovereigns in Northern India for about a period of two and a half centuries, and extended their sway in the Panjâb, Bihâr, Gujarât, Kâthiâwâṛ, Râjpûtâna and Central India (Mâlwâ). It was Nâgabhaṭa II, the fifth ruler of the dynasty, who having dethroned Chakrâyudha of Kanauj about 816 A.D., made it his capital.[34] Since then, the *Raghuvaṁśî* Pratihâras are also known as the Pratihâras of Kanauj. With Yaśapâla, however, the last ruler among them. or with his successor, the rule of the Pratihâras of Kanauj came to an end, and it was the Gaharwâṛ[35] king Chandradêva, who acquired the sovereignty of Kanauj in v.s. 1154 (A.D. 1097).[36] Though the reign of the *Raghuvaṁśî* Pratihâras came to an end at the end of the 11th century A.D., nevertheless some of the scions of the family yet ruled for sometime in distant parts of the country, as is evident from the Kureṭhâ[37] inscription of Malayavarmâ, dated v.s. 1277 (A.D. 1220) and the Râjgaṛh.[38] inscription of the Pratihâra Pṛithvîpâladêva dated v.s. 1208 (A.D. 1151).

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27 आद्य : श्रीगुवकाख्याप्रथितनरपतिश्चाहमानान्वयोभूत् श्रीमन्नागावलोकप्रवरनृपसभालब्ध(ब्ध)वीरप्रतिष्ठः ।

. . . .

तोमरनायकं सलवणं सैन्याधिपत्योद्धतं युद्धे येन नरेश्वरा : प्रतिदिशं निर्न्नो(र्णा)शिता जिष्णुना ।
कारावेश्मनि भूरयश्च विधृतास्तावाद्धि यावद्गृहे तन्मुत्तयर्थमुपागतो रघुकुले भूचक्रवर्त्ती स्वयम् ॥
Ep. Ind., vol. II., pp. 121-22.

28 R. B. G. H. Ojha's Supplementary notes to *Tod's Râjasthân* (in Hindi), p. 308.

29 See note 27 above.

30 Sîyâḍôṇî—Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 172.

31 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 263.

32 रघुकुलतिलको महेन्द्रपाल :
canto I, *ślôka* 6.

33 देवो यस्य महेन्द्रपालनृपति : शिष्यो रघुग्रामणि : ।
canto I, *ślōka* 11.

34 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 105-6. Also Sastri, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 17.
According to Duff [*Chronology*, p. 75] Chakrâyudha gained sovereignty of Kanauj in 840 A.D., while Nâgabhaṭa II is supposed to have ruled from v.s. 872-90 (A.D. 815-33) [*Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 199, and *Prabhâvaka-charit*, p. 177]. Hence, either the date in Chronology is wrong, or Chakrâyudha's deposition becomes impossible unless Nâgabhaṭa's reign lasted longer.

35 The Gaharwâṛs also belonged to the solar race, as appears from their inscriptions.

36 Duff's *Chronology*, pp. 134-5. 37 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XLVII, p. 242, n. 4.

38 *l Report of the Râjpûtâna Museum, Ajmer*, 1918-19, 4(*b*) V.

THE HOME OF THE UPANIṢADS.

BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A., B.L

(*Continued from page 173.*)

Scholars find no difficulty in believing that the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Rigveda,* though, as the texts have come down to us, it is a part of the same compilation at present, was yet composed later than the other *maṇḍalas.* It is also admitted that the *Brâhmaṇas* were composed when the eastern districts had been explored and had begun to be colonised. We have evidence of this eastern migration in the *Brâhmaṇas* themselves. Is it then too much to suppose that the later portions of these *Brâhmaṇas*—the *Upaniṣads* and the *Âraṇyakas*—at any rate, a vast majority of them—were composed after the settlements in the eastern districts had become prosperous territories with populous cities and villages ?

We find, therefore, that though some texts of the Śruti, as they are usually understood, imply a disparagement of the eastern districts, yet no such thing is found in the Upaniṣads proper. So it is precarious to conclude that the home of the Upaniṣads was in Kuru-Pañcâla and not anywhere else. Besides, it must be remembered that even if the *Brâhmaṇas* are definitely proved to have originated in Kuru-Pañcâla, still that does not prove that it was the home of the Upaniṣads also. It is conceivable that a distance of time as well as a distance of space separate the two. At any rate, the evidence of the Vedic and Brâhmanic texts discussed above is inconclusive with regard to the contention that Kuru-Pañcâla and not Videha-Magadha was the home of the Upaniṣads.

(ii) We turn now to the evidence of the Upaniṣads themselves. It has just been pointed out that in the Upaniṣads, there is no banter against the eastern peoples. On the contrary, the court of the king of Videha was an important resort of the teachers of *Brahma-vidyâ.* In the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* ii. 1, Ajâtaśatru of Kâśî exclaims that people flock to the court of Janaka in connection with *Brahma-vidyâ.* That shows that Videha had already acquired a reputation in that respect. Kâśî also appears to have been another seat of *Brahma-vidyâ* ; but the jealousy of its king for Janaka, shews that it was a less important seat.

In the *Praśna Upaniṣad,* we find references to Kośala and Vidarbha, enquirers from which countries approach a certain teacher for *Brahma-vidyâ* (i. 1). And in the same Upaniṣad (vi. 1), we find that even the princes of Kośala were interested in *Brahma-vidyâ.* This shows clearly that *Brahma-vidyâ* had at least travelled out of Kuru-Pañcâla, if that was its original home.

Among the princes of Pañcâla, Pravâhaṇa Jaivali is well-known. (*Ch.* i. 8 ; v. 3. *Br.* vi. 2). But he was a Kṣatriya, and though fairly well posted in the subject, he was hardly a teacher in the real sense of the term. And as to the Brahmans of Kuru-Pañcâla, Śvetaketu Âruṇeya had to confess even before this very Jaivali that he had not been instructed into the mysteries of *Deva-yâna* and *Pitṛ-yâna*—an important branch of *Brahma-vidyâ* ; and his father too had to admit that he did not know it. Surely, this is not a compliment.

Again, in *Chândogya* i. 10-12, we have a reference to the ' Śauva Udgîtha '—' the song of the dog ' as Deussen translates it ; " which ", to quote the same author again (p. 62) " seems to have been originally a satire on the greedy begging propensities of the priests." Now, if it was a satire at all, was it not a satire upon the Brahmans of Kuru-Pañcâla ? The story of Uṣasti Câkrâyaṇa, to which the ' song of the dog ' is an appendix, seems to imply an adverse reflection upon the Kuru-Pañcâla Brahmans and their mode of life. This Uṣasti Câkrâyaṇa appears again in *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* iii. 4, where he puts questions to Yâjñavalkya but is easily silenced.

In the *Kauṣîtakî* (iv. 1), we find references to several places, evidently as seats of learning, *viz.,* Uśînara, Matsya, Kuru-Pañcâla and Kâśî-Videha. That was evidently a time when living in Magadha or Videha, was not only not unusual but was rather necessary for completing one's education. It is the story of the proud Vâlâki who met Ajâtaśatru of Kâśî (cf. *Br.* ii). In the *Kauṣîtakî,* we are told that this proud man had travelled in the countries

mentioned above—and it may be presumed, must have earned a reputation for scholarship also. He had been to Kuru-Pañcâla, too, and had come out of that country, evidently with his reputation unimpaired. But at Kâśî, an eastern district, and at the hands of a Kṣatriya, he meets with a crushing defeat.

In the Upaniṣads, we find references to most of the provinces falling within the zone of territory which had Kuru-Pañcâla on the north-west, Matsya and Vidarbha on the south-south-west and Videha-Magadha on the east. This was undoubtedly the area within which *Brahma-vidyâ* was born. But Macdonell's theory that Kuru-Pañcâla was the home of the Upaniṣads, is not supported by anything in the body of that literature. Pravâhaṇa Jaivali, the king of the Pañcâlas, is not the most important patron of *Brahma-vidyâ* ; and he is more than matched by Ajâtaśatru of Kâśî. But this Ajâtaśatru himself has to exclaim that people run to the court of Janaka, and not anywhere else, for *Brahma-vidyâ* (*Br.* ii. 1. *Kauṣ.* iv. 1.)

If Kuru-Pañcâla or even Kâśî had been the more important seat of *Brahma-vidyâ*, we should certainly have found more frequent references to these places, their kings and peoples. But Ajâtaśatru's sad complaint makes it plain that the peoples of these places were painfully aware of the superior prestige of the court of Videha in this matter. And the fact that a master mind like Yâjñavalkya did not find a field for his activity in Kuru-Pañcâla, which according to some was his birth-place, is significant and shows that the kings and peoples of that country were not inclined to favour the spread of this cult.

In the Upaniṣads, the court of Videha, as a seat of *Brahma-vidyâ*, far outshines all other places in Âryâvarta ; and Janaka is by far the most prominent among all the Kṣatriyas, mentioned in the Upaniṣads as patrons of *Brahma-vidyâ*. And the teacher who towers head and shoulders above all others in the Upaniṣads, is not Uddâlaka Âruṇi, but his real or supposed disciple, Yâjñavalkya. In the court of Janaka, Âruṇi failed to prove his superiority to Yâjñavalkya—and one might even say, he had a defeat at the hands of the latter ; and in the court of Pravâhaṇa Jaivali, he had to confess his ignorance of certain important questions and accepted the discipleship of the Kṣatriya. In the *Chândogya* (vi), Âruṇi no doubt gives a learned discourse to his son Śvetaketu ; and, according to the *Chândogya*, it is no doubt to him that we are indebted for the famous formula ' *Tattvamasi*.' He was undoubtedly a very great teacher ; and we find references to him in the *Mahâbhârata* and also in other places ; but as a teacher of *Brahma-vidyâ*, he ranks much lower than Yâjñavalkya. He had defeats and discomfitures here and there ; but Yâjñavalkya is triumphant throughout —triumphant even over Âruṇi himself. Yâjñavalkya may have been Âruṇi's pupil or may not have been ; it is not impossible even for a pupil to eclipse his master. But whether Âruṇi's pupil or not, Yâjñavalkya is by far the most important teacher in the Upaniṣads.

Now, if Yâjñavalkya is the most important teacher and if Janaka is the most renowned patron of *Brahma-vidyâ*, where could *Brahma-vidyâ* have its home except in the eastern districts of Videha-Magadha ? Yâjñavalkya's own nationality is not so material ; he may have been a Kuru-Pañcâla or may have been a Videha Brahmin ; but what is material, is : Where could he find the necessary field for his activity in *Brahma-vidyâ* ? Not in the land of Pañcâla, but it is in Videha that he gives his discourses under the distinguished patronage of its king. Of course, at the court of a king like Janaka, learned men came from all quarters and certainly also from Kuru-Pañcâla ; and floating ideas on *Brahma-vidyâ* existed in Kuru-Pañcâla, Matsya, Vidarbha and Kâśî ; in these places also existed men who knew this subject and knew it well ; but the cult does not appear to have found any continued and systematic support outside Videha. In the strict sense of the term, therefore, Videha or the eastern territory was the home of the Upaniṣads.

There is another point to be considered in this connection. The Upaniṣads imply a certain amount of breach with the strictly orthodox Brâhmaṇical culture, shall we add, of the north-west. In Pâli literature and in the history of Buddhism, we find this gulf widening under the powerful influence of the Kṣatriyas of the east. It seems that this was just the

place and these were just the peoples who could foster the growth of independent spiritual inquiry which the Upaniṣads also exhibit. Buddhism was an open rebellion against the Vedic religion ; but the Upaniṣads also involved some defiance of the ceremonial cult, though less open ; and the eastern districts appear to have been marked out for carrying out this mission of protest. The people who could raise the standard of Buddhism, were intellectually fitted to give rise to the Upaniṣadic cult also. And the evidence of the Upaniṣads show that the cult had its organised beginnings and its first settled home in the districts of Videha and also perhaps Magadha. Besides the evidence discussed up to now, there is the evidence of the traditions preserved in the Purâṇas, to which we may now turn.

(iii) The *Viṣṇu Purâṇa*, part iv, gives an account of several royal dynasties, including dynasties of the Kurus and the Pañcâlas. Needless details are sometimes introduced in these accounts and more than once is it said that he who listens to these narrations, escapes all sin (*eteṣam caritam śṛṇvan sarva-pâpaiḥ pramucyate*). But only in the case of the Janaka dynasty of Videha-Mithilâ is it said that most of the kings of that dynasty were patrons of Âtmavidyâ : *Ityete maithilâḥ ; prâcuryyeṇa eteṣâm âtmavidyâśrayiṇo bhupâlâ bhaviṣyantîti* (iv. 5. 14). No other dynasty has received a similar compliment from the author of the *Viṣṇu Purâṇa*. If any royal family, therefore, was prominent for its support of *Brahma-vidyâ*, it was that of Videha.

The *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* similarly gives detailed accounts of various royal dynasties, distributed widely over different parts of the country, and including the Yadus and the Ikṣâkus and a host of others. But in the account of the Janaka dynasty, the significant statement is made that the members of that dynasty were adepts in Âtmavidyâ—*ete vai maithilâ râjan âtmavidyâ-vtśâradâḥ* (ix. 13. 27). It is remarkable that this virtue is not attributed to any other dynasty, not even the family of Kṛṣṇa himself, the propounder of the *Bhagavad-gîtâ*.

In the *Mahâbhârata*, iii. 132, we find an interesting picture of the disputations on *Brahma-vidyâ* that took place at the court of Videha ; and in xii. 325, of the same book, Śuka, son of Vyâsa, is sent by his father to Janaka, the king of Mithilâ, for instruction in *Mokṣa-vidyâ*. The same story in an identical form is repeated in *Yoga-vâśiṣtha*, ii. 1. In several other places also in the *Mahâbhârata*, the name of Janaka of Videha figures prominently in connection with *Brahma-vidyâ*.

Accounts of the royal dynasty of Mithilâ are not found in all the Purâṇas. But wherever mention is made of this remarkable dynasty, whether in the Purâṇas, or in the *Mahâbhârata*, or in the *Yoga-vâśiṣṭha*, the fact is almost invariably emphasized that the court of Videha was renowned as almost an exclusive seat of *Brahma-vidyâ*. No other dynasty appears to have received a similar compliment for its patronage of *Brahma-vidyâ* : and no other place has been commemorated as an equally great seat of this knowledge. This is a very significant fact. Teachers of *Brahma-vidyâ* may have had their homes in other places, even in far off countries ; but the court of Videha was the centre, it seems, to which they all gravitated. Under the distinguished patronage of the kings of Videha, the teachers of *Brahma-vidyâ*, of whatsoever race and country they may have been, had their common meeting-ground in that country. And systematic instruction also appears to have been imparted to earnest inquirers : it almost had the semblance of a university (cf. *Mahâbhârata*, iii. 132 ; *Br. Up.*, iii. iv).

In the Purâṇâs, the honour of being the home of the Upaniṣadic culture is bestowed almost exclusively on Videha. Other dynasties of princes have been celebrated for achievements in other directions,—for their wars and conquests and great sacrificial performances ; but none have been half as renowned as the Janaka dynasty for proficiency in *Brahma-vidyâ*. And other lands have been famous for other events ; but, in the Purâṇas, the land of Videha has little other history to its credit, except the hospitality it extended to the teachers of *Brahma-vidyâ*—whether homeless itinerants or house-owning fathers of families.

The importance of Videha in this respeçt is proved by another fact from the Purâṇas. The *Mahâbhârata*, we are told, was narrated in the form in which it has come down to us,

at an assembly of the Ṛṣis of Naimiṣâraṇya (*Mbh.* i. 1). And more than half the Purâṇas declare themselves products of Naimiṣâraṇya (cf. *Kûrma*, i. 2; *Skanda*, i. 1. 2, etc.). Even in cases where the scene is laid in other places (*e.g.*, *Brahmânda* i. 13; *Vâyu* i. 14, etc.), it is still the Ṛṣis of Naimiṣâraṇya to whom the leadership of thought-movement is ascribed. Now, Naimiṣâraṇya was nearer to the Kuru-Pañcâla than to Videha and was situated in the zone of territory in which the Brâhmaṇas are supposed to have been composed. It may be supposed that these people were not lacking in sympathy for the Kuru-Pañcâla men. That even these Ṛṣis and these Purâṇas assign a very high place of honour to the royal dynasty of Videha, is a fact that cannot be lightly passed over. And besides, there is no disparagement of the eastern districts in these books. This shews that Videha really deserved the honour.

That the territory comprising Videha and its neighbourhood was the centre of great intellectual movements, is further shewn by the rise of Buddhism in this area. A reference has already been made to Buddhism; it was a product mainly of these very districts for which some of the Śruti texts have been understood to express nothing but contempt. In fact, the very sneers at Magadha in later Vedic literature, have been supposed by some as due to the rise of the heterodox religion of Buddha in that land. (See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 400 n.) Whether this is true or not, the outstanding fact remains that Videha-Magadha was the centre of intellectual and spiritual activity of a very high order. And the assumption is quite reasonable that the spirit of free inquiry that the Upaniṣads exhibit and the revolt against Vedic religion which is exemplified in Buddhism, may have been helped and encouraged by each other. References to *Brahma-vidyâ*, to the state of having attained Brahma, and also to the kings of Mithilâ are frequent enough in Buddhistic literature. Thus, in *Jâtakamâla*, (*Śaśa jâtaka*, 28), we find the expression *brahmavidâm variṣṭhaḥ*; and in *Maitrâbala-jâtaka*, occurs the expression *brahmabhûyam*; and in *Brahma-jâtaka*, a king of Videha is brought round to the right way of life by the instruction of the Bodhisattva who was born in the realm of Brahma (Brahmaloka). In Moore's *Sayings of Buddha*, (p. 35), Buddha says "I *became* Brahma". *Mahâvastu* iii. 325, speaks of *brahmavâda* (*dharmmeṇa so brâhmano brahmavâdam vadeya*, etc.). All these things bespeak an acquaintance with the cult of *Brahma-vidyâ*. Then there are the references to kings of Mithilâ also (*e.g.*, *Jâtaka* Nos. 9, 408, 498, etc.) Though the names of the kings as given in these texts are not exactly the same as in the *Viṣṇu Purâṇa* and elsewhere, yet some names, such as that of Nimi, are common, showing that the identical dynasty of kings was in view.

All these considerations show that Videha-Magadha was a soil where a free and independent thinking could strike root; and our other evidences have proved that this was the soil where *Brahma-vidyâ* too had its first home.

There is one possible objection which may be considered here. The evidences that we have been discussing refer mainly to the court of Videha rather than to its people or its provinces. The court was certainly not the place of instruction—the place, that is to say, where pupils were taught. And it is also a truism to say that the cult could not have been developed without regular instruction being given to students. Now where was this instruction given? Not of course in the court of the king; but it was presumably under the patronage of the court that a majority of the teachers lived, and so, they must have had their seat of instruction not far from the court. Besides, very many of the teachers had little of a home to own: they lived a more or less peripatetic life and wherever they went, their pupils also went along with them. Yâjñavalkya comes to the court of Janaka with his disciples crowding about him; and it is one of these pupils that he orders to drive home the cows which the king offered as reward to the most learned man in the assembly (*Br.* iii. 1. 2). Śâkalya too had his pupils with him; and when he was suddenly killed by Yâjñavalkya's curse, his bones were carried off by these pupils (*ibid.*, iii. 9. 26). That the Brahman teachers moved about

the country with their pupils in their wake, is also proved by incidents recorded in the Purâṇas and the *Mahâbhârata*. Thus, *Mbh.* iii. 261 narrates a visit to Duryodhana by Durvâsâ and a similar visit by him to Yudhiṣṭhira, with ten thousand pupils following him. The practice of taking some pupils with oneself on one's journeys, specially when the journey is made on an invitation, has continued among Brahmans even till the present day.

Of course, some of these itinerant Brahmans owned a home and even a wife, and sometimes even more than one wife (*e.g.*, *Br. Up.*, ii. 4). And they had their children to boot. And it is also true that however much they might prize the patronage of princes, very few of them lived under a royal roof. Some no doubt did live in the household of kings in some capacity or other, but not many. And the Upaniṣadic teachers were mostly dwellers in villages or even in forests. But one can easily assume that when a princely house was particularly kind to any sect of these Brahmans, such Brahmans would naturally fix up their abode within the area protected by these princes and in their neighbourhood. And from the eminent position of the court of Videha, it may well be inferred that it must have held itself responsible for the protection of the life and property of many a Upaniṣadic teacher. In all probability, they had their homes within reach of Videha's arms; and it was there that they maintained their pupils and held their schools.

If it is a question of choice as between Videha and Magadha, it is not difficult to see that we have to cast our vote in favour of Videha rather than Magadha as the home of Upaniṣadic speculation. But provincial boundaries were not yet sharply defined in those early days, and, besides, Magadha also seems to have had its share in the development of this culture, though Videha's share was decidedly more noteworthy. The two districts have to be mentioned conjointly because they are generally so spoken of and also because, as a matter of fact, both had their contributions to the building up of *Brahma-vidyâ*.

We may note in passing here that interesting light is thrown on the question of the home of the Upaniṣadic teachers by some ancient Greek writers. They almost uniformly locate the philosophers of ancient India either on the banks of the Ganges or on mountains which remain nameless. Bardesanes, a writer of the second century A.D., says: "Of the philosophers among them (*i.e.*, the Brahmans), some inhabit the mountains, others the banks of the Ganges." (The quotations are from McCrindle's translation, *vide* his *Ancient India*). Pseudo-Kallisthenes says that the men lived on the shores of the ocean or on one side of the river (presumably the Ganges), and the women on the other side towards the interior of the country. Philostratos of Semnos locates the philosophers between Hyphasis (the river Beas) and the Ganges. Apollonius of Tyana (*Priaulx's* translation) repeats the statement that the philosophers' country lay between the Hyphasis and the Ganges and that Alexander never invaded it.

The evidence of these writers is far from conclusive; and the honesty and veracity of many of them has been challenged. In any case, their statements are not free from confusion. But they indicate a tendency to locate our philosophers on the banks of the Ganges, and, what is more important, on the *eastern* banks of that river. That brings us to the area we have kept in view. And when corroborative evidence is found elsewhere, we have no right to reject this testimony.

The whole host of evidence, therefore, seems to drive us but to this one conclusion that the home of *Brahma-vidyâ* was the country of Videha-Magadha. Ideas on the subject perhaps floated all over the surface of Âryâvarta; but a systematic cultivation of the subject took place, for a long time it seems, in Videha-Magadha alone. This was, therefore, the Home of the Upaniṣads.

HINDU AND NON-HINDU ELEMENTS IN THE KATHA SARIT SAGARA.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

I. General Remarks.

WHEN Mr. N. M. Penzer undertook his fine edition of Tawney's translation of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara,* now completed in ten remarkable volumes, I wrote the foreword to Volume I. In the course of my remarks I pointed out that the Brâhmaṇ Somadeva, the author of the original, in putting together his collection of folktales used just the current stories of his day whatever their origin, and did in fact utilise tales and ideas that were presumably not of Aryan, *i.e.*, of Hindu, origin. In going through the second volume carefully this notion took so strong a hold upon me that I propose now to make an examination of it, to see how far my idea is supported on being further looked into.

Many years ago, when dissecting a collection of modern Panjâbî folktales, principally compiled by Mrs. F. A. Steel and published in *Wide-awake Stories,* 1884, I went on the principle of examining the incidents in the tales rather than the tales themselves. Folktales and the incidents occurring in them have separate histories, much as have the two components of all religions—the ritual and the philosophy—and it occurred to me then that by an examination of the incidents one was quite as likely to get at the history of the ideas contained in folktales as by an examination of the tales themselves. I have accordingly proposed to myself to follow the same principle with regard to the second volume of Mr. Penzer's edition of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara.* In order to do so I have been through the book and noted down some 75 points, which it seemed to me to be worth examining. Of these 35 may be called records of matters that are purely Indian and 40 may be looked on as matters relating to Folklore in general, including that of the Hindus. Also it has seemed to me that practically the whole of them refer to conditions that are both Hindu and not Hindu.

With these preliminary remarks I propose to examine Volume II of Mr. Penzer's book, taking advantage of his magnificent apparatus of notes, long and short, and of his appendices, one of which, that on the "poison damsel," is practically an unique contribution to the study of Folklore. My remarks will perforce be of a desultory nature, but I hope none the less worth making for that.

The following list gives the many subjects I shall touch on in the order of examination.

I.—General Remarks.

II.—General Points.

1. Chronology.
2. Urvaśî and Purûravas, the oldest Love Story.
3. Puns.
4. The Naming of Heroes.
5. The Spread of Rumour.
6. Travelling in India at the end of the First Millenium, A.D.
7. Etymology.

III.—References to old Indian life.

1. Unscrupulousness.
2. Victory Columns.
3. Strong Drink.
4. Eunuchs.
5. The Water-borne Foundling.
6. Hindu and Savage : Caste Feeling.
7. Bodhisattvas in Hinduism.

IV.—Old Indian Customs.

1. Polyandry.
2. Nose-cutting for Adultery.

3. Forms of Marriage.
4. Child Marriage.
5. Gambling.
6. Feeding Brâhmans.
7. The Sacredness of the Cow.
8. Birth-chamber Customs.
9. The Cæsarian Operation.
10. Marvellous Cures.
11. Skull-wearing.
12. Nudity.
13. The Possession of Sons.
    (*a*) Prophecy.
    (*b*) Supernatural Births.
    (*c*) The Wishing Tree.
14. Sworn Brotherhood.
15. The Ring of Recognition.
16. Auspicious Birth-marks.
17. The Divinity of Horses.
18. Invisibility of Divinities.
19. Hindu Theft Tales.
20. Red Powder.

V.—Folklore.

1. The Poison Damsel.
2. Magic.
    (*a*) Vidyâdharas and White Magic.
    (*b*) Witches and Black Magic.
    (*c*) Witches' Spells.
3. The Magic Knot.
4. The Magic Circle.
5. Witches and Vampires and their Accompaniments.
    (*a*) Potiphar's wife : the Woman Scorned.
    (*b*) Witches' Spells and Magic Powers.
    (*c*) Overhearing.
    (*d*) Ceremonial Cannibalism.
    (*e*) Meeting Eyebrows.
    (*f*) Mustard Seeds.
6. Râkshasas : Demons.
7. Tantric Rites.
    (*a*) Human Sacrifice.
8. The Wandering Soul.
9. Metamorphosis.
10. Mortal and Immortal Love.
11. The Water Spirit.
12. Tree Spirits.
    (*a*) The Wishing Tree.
    (*b*) The Miraculous Child.
    (*c*) Illumination.
    (*d*) Speech at Birth.
    (*e*) Walking at Birth.
13. The Fire Sacrifice and Immortality.
14. The Water of Immortality.

15. Summoning by Thought.
16. The Home of the Blest
17. Unintentional Injuries.
18. Portents : Twitching ; Itching ; Sneezing.
19. Love-sickness and Death.
20. Taboos.
    (a) Umbrellas.
21. Dreams.
22. Jonah in the Whale's Belly.
23. Râhu and Eclipses.

II. General Points.

1. Chronology.

Let me commence with those matters that do not strictly concern Folklore, but are representative, nevertheless, of this old collection of folktales and of ancient, and indeed modern, Indian life and literature. One can hardly expect a literary work such as that of Somadeva, brought about to amuse the leisure of an Eastern queen, to be careful of chronology ; but in this matter the author is wholly wild in his statements in true old Indian fashion. He is relating the main story and is extolling the glory of King Chaṇḍamahâsena, King of Vatsa, in "conquering the Earth" (pp. 93-94). This to start with, and then the same king is made to subdue the King of Sindh in a war, in the course of which the King of Vatsa's cavalry break "the cavalry squadrons of the Turushkas," *i.e.*, of the Turks. The King of Vatsa next cuts off "the head of the wicked King of the Pârasîkas," *i.e.*, of the Persians, and defeats the Hûṇas, *i.e.*, the white Huns. These performances frighten the King of Kâmarûpa, *i.e.*, of Assam, into submission, and lastly in triumph he goes to the King of Magadha, *i.e.*, of Bihar. Surely here neither time nor place nor history are considered.

2. Urvaśî and Purûravas.

The Oldest Love Story.

At p. 245 ff. Mr. Penzer gives us in Appendix I. a most valuable set of observations on *The Story of Urvaśî and Purûravas*, traced back to a hymn in the *Ṛigveda*. At the commencement of his remarks he states : "It is the first Indo-European love-story known and may even be the oldest love-story in the world." One would like to think so. Perhaps some Egyptian or Sumerian scholar may tell us if an older one has been unearthed. Its great antiquity, however, and its persistent popularity are beyond doubt. Its scheme is, of course, in consequence familiar to many an European who has never heard of the original. An immortal girl (a fairy) loves a mortal man, marries him in mortal form on a condition—on a taboo in fact—which he cannot keep, and then disappears as an immortal on his breaking it. In the end he finds the means to attain immortality, and after many troubles everything ends happily. It is a story calculated to bring out much human nature in the telling.

3. Puns.

Still dealing with matters of general interest, I would note that one cannot have much experience of Indian literature without noticing the fondness for puns and double meanings, and it is interesting to note how old and insistent this fondness is. In this volume I have marked their occurrence noticed ten times by Mr. Penzer at pp. 52, 73, 79, 132, 154, 158, 180, 181, 218, 219.

4. The Naming of Heroes.

Another general matter that I would like to call attention to in these stories is that a personal name is given to every one of importance concerned with a tale. It does not seem to be enough merely to mention that there lived a merchant who did such and such things, but the merchant must be named and so on, even when the name does not give any point

to the story. *E.g.*, *The Story of the Loving Couple that died of Separation* (p. 9) commences with : "There lived a certain young merchant called Illaka . . . in Mathurâ." This is also a Scandinavian habit. In telling a story a Scandinavian must give a name to the person concerned with it—even if he has to invent it on the spot—*e.g.*, an Icelander will begin by saying : "I will tell you the story of a young man called Jón Magnússon," when it does not in the least matter whether the name was Jón or Magnús or any other.

5. The Spread of Rumour.

On pp. 185-186 occurs the story of *The Iniquity of Scandal*, really turning on a world-wide effect of the spread of rumour, and Mr. Penzer rightly draws attention to Virgil's description in *Æneid, IV*. The story begins in the usual way of carefully describing names and places : "There is a city on the banks of the Ganges named Kusumapura [=Pâṭaliputra=Patna], and in it was a [Brâhmaṇ] ascetic who visited holy places, named Harasvâmin." As above remarked the point of the story is in no way advanced by mentioning these names, as it turns on the troubles of Harasvâmin in consequence of "a wicked man spreading it about that he carries off children and eats them." It is not to be expected that a *motif* such as this should be confined to any one part of the world, but Mr. Penzer has a most illuminating note (not the only one of its kind) on p. 185, n. 3. He points out that a similar tale was actually spread about in the French Revolution as to "M. de Montlosier, Marquis de Mirabeau" indulging in orgies, during which he ate little children : much to the discomfort of M. de Montlosier.

6. Travelling in India at the End of the first Millenium, A.D.

Another general point, on which I would like to remark, arises out of a paragraph on p. 6 : "At night, while all were asleep, wearied with their long journey, stretched out on strewn leaves and such other beds as travellers have to put up with." The accommodation, according to the tale, was under a tree outside a temple, which itself was outside Benares, near a place for burning the dead. I draw attention to this, because, even in the days of Peter Mundy during the Thirty Years War (1618–1648 A.D.), in Continental Europe the ordinary accommodation in a country inn, called by the English "a crewe" (*Krug*) was not any better, except that the cold climate of Northern Europe made travellers sleep under a roof, but they slept anywhere on the floor on straw.

7. Etymology.

The Hindus have always been as fond of folk-etymology as other people. Indeed literary striving after a meaning in names and words has gone deeply into the public life, in the hope of raising caste status by giving a meaning to caste and sub-caste names which tends to enhance the social position of the bearers. There are instances in this volume.

I will take first some cases of etymology which are not exactly folklore, but are worthy of note. On pp. 84-85, Mr. Penzer has some remarks on Adam's Bridge, which nearly connects India with Ceylon, but in his remarks on the name 'Adam's' given to an obviously Hindu place, he has left out the illuminating observation of Dames in his *Barbosa* on Adam's Peak, also in Ceylon. Next in *the Story of Vidûshaka* at pp. 67 ff, "a certain friend of his beloved named Yogeśvarî" takes a prominent part in the tale. But *Yogeśvarî* as a term means 'past mistress of *yoga*,' and perhaps, instead of the character being simply named Yogeśvarî, the translation should run 'a certain friend of his beloved, a most wise woman,' and she should be called thereafter 'the wise woman.' Lastly at p. 271 occurs a notable etymology : "gingham (a kind of cotton cloth first made at Guingamp in Brittany, the yarn of which is dyed before it is woven)." Here Mr. Penzer is correcting the *O. E. D.* and other authorities. At p. 138 again occurs a remarkable expression well worth noting : "Himavat, the father of the mother of the world"—the possessor of the snows as the father of Ambikâ, *i.e.*, of Pârvatî, the wife of Śiva.

Turning to folk-etymology pure and simple, I will take the case of the Fourfaced Śiva as he appears in this volume. At p. 14 we read : "Brahmâ, wishing to destroy them [the Asuras Sunda and Upasunda] gave an order to Viśvakarman, and had constructed a heavenly woman named Tilottamâ, in order to behold whose beauty even Śiva truly became Fourfaced so as to look four ways at once, while she was devoutly circumambulating him. Then in *The Story of Ahalyâ* (pp. 45-46) the Thousand Eyes of Indra are similarly accounted for. In the first of these stories we have the same general idea as that of Pygmalion and Galatea, where a sculptor's statue becomes animated out of his love.

Even more directly we find an instance of folk-etymology in the name Kandarpa for Kâma, the god of love. At p. 100 in the course of the very mythological tale of *The Birth of Kârttikeya*, the god of war, Śiva is reported as saying to his consort Gaurî : "My dear goddess, the god of love was born long ago from the mind of Brahmâ, and no sooner was he born than he said in his insolence : 'whom shall I make mad (*kan darpayâmi* ?).' So Brahmâ called him Kandarpa." Similarly in another wholly mythological tale we read (p. 241) : "Prithu, son of Vena, having been constituted universal monarch, desired to recover for his subjects edible plants, which, during the preceding anarchy, had all perished." So he attacked the Earth and conquered her in the form of a cow. She proceeded "to fecundate the soil," and all the vegetables grew once more. "By granting life to the Earth, Prithu became as her father ; and thence she derived the patronymic appellation Prithivî (daughter of Prithu)."

Lastly in yet another highly mythological tale at pp. 151-152 we find : "Then the snakes in despair licked that bed of *darbha* grass, thinking there might be a drop of spilt nectar on it ; the effect was that their tongues were split [by its sharp edges], and they became double-tongued for nothing." This statement occurs in the tale of *The Dispute about the Colour of the Sun's Horses*.

III. References to old Indian Life.

There are several references to the conditions of life in India, brought about by the adoption of Hinduism which are worth noting as explanatory of the turn that many Indian folktales take.

1. Unscrupulousness.

There is an unscrupulousness in the means used to attain an end, both in domestic and political life, that is instructive. Stories are told showing an entire want of scruple in action without a word of comment or sign of disapproval, which exhibits a certain want of moral sense in the tellers and listeners and is worth noting, for the tales of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara* were collected and told for the amusement of a mediæval Hindu Court in Kashmîr.

At the commencement of the volume on p. 2 is *The Story of the Clever Physician*, who cured King Mahâsena of a disease by upsetting his physical equilibrium with a story of his wife's sudden death. There may, of course be some justification for a stratagem of this kind, but the story is told to suggest a way out of a political difficulty of a very different character. In the main tale, the King of Vatsa is so wholly in love with his wife Vâsavadattâ that he is neglecting his kingdom, and there is danger from the King of Magadha. So Yaugandharâyana, his minister, and Rumaṇvat, his general, set up a plot to wean their king from his love for Vâsavadattâ and marry him to Padmâvatî (as co-wife) the beautiful daughter of the King of Magadha, and so avert the danger. The plot is unscrupulous in the extreme, and both the King of Vatsa and his wife Vâsavadattâ are shamefully deceived, and so, truly, are Padmâvatî and her father. But the plot is successful, owing to the personal characters of the two young women, and it all ends in the happy living together of the King of Vatsa and his two co-wives, and incidentally in saving his country.

On p. 10 in *The Story of Puṇyasena*, Yaugandharâyana defends his action by relating a tale of a false report, which successfully deceives an enemy. This tale is evidently told

with the approval of the author and his audience, for " Yaugandharâyana, that ocean of calm resolution, answered him [Rumaṇvat, who had strong doubts as to the ultimate success of pure deception] : 'I have arranged the whole plan, and the affairs of kings often require such steps to be taken.' "

2. Victory Columns.

In the main story the King of Vatsa conquers the Gangetic lands in the East, and " on its [Ganges'] extreme shore sets up pillars of stone." Here Mr. Penzer, following Wilson, remarks on the *jayastambha* (p. 92) that "the erection of the columns is often alluded to by Hindu writers and explains the character of the solitary columns which are sometimes met with, as the Lât at Delhi, the pillars at Allahabad, Budal, etc." But is this so ? Some at any rate were used by Aśoka for his Buddhist propaganda. If this suggestion of Mr. Penzer's is correct, it is an important point, though it is quite possible that Somadeva is here merely giving a popular view of the nature of the "solitary pillars."

3. Strong Drink.

Continuing the main story, Somadeva, at p. 125, gives a florid account of the life of "Udayana," the King of Vatsa at Kauśâmbî : "While the roof of his palace was white with moonlight, as with his own glory, he drank wine in plenteous streams . . . . ; beautiful women brought him, as he sat retired, in vessels of gold, wine flaming with a rosy glow . . . . ; he divided between the two queens the cordial liquor, red, delicious and pellucid, in which danced the reflections of their faces." The "two queens" were Vâsavadattâ and Padmâvatî. There is a lusciousness in this description of old Court life for the delectation of the mediæval Kashmiri Queen, which seems to spring from the very heart of the poet.

4. Eunuchs.

In the main story again, the marriage of the King of Vatsa with Padmâvatî is described at length, and at p. 29 he goes in search of Vâsavadattâ. " Entering the house, at the door of which eunuchs were standing " he finds her. I can merely draw attention to the fact of eunuchs being employed in Somadeva's day before the introduction of the *pardah* into India, as Mr. Penzer's note here is : " I shall give a long note on Indian eunuchs in a later volume."

5. The Water-borne Foundling.

Through all Indian story the water-borne foundling, especially the river-borne variety, plays a great part. She, or sometimes he, also has frequent place in the tales of folk-etymology invented to set up claims of low castes to a higher social position. When a caste is increasing in worldly wealth it is apt to set up a claim to be descended from some such foundling, brought up of course by some man or woman of humble origin, and equally of course of true Râjput origin in reality. So it is important to enquire into the tale of one in such a collection of tales as the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*. In pp. 4-5, in *The Story of the Hypocritical Ascetic*, we find that the ascetic, in order to get possession of a certain girl, induces her father by a fraud, to put her by night into a basket and set her adrift on the Ganges, intending to find it himself and so get the girl. But *en route* a prince finds the basket, takes the girl out of it, and sets it afloat again with a fierce monkey inside it. So that was all that the ascetic eventually found to his great grief. The idea has thus been used merely to fill a passing tale. It has also been found in European collections occasionally, perhaps, though not necessarily, borrowed from the Indian story.

6. Hindu and Savage : Caste Feelings.

Somadeva was a Brâhman, and though eclectic in the sources of his tales, he was clearly an upholder of Brâhmanic Hinduism ; but occasionally he gives us glimpses of the situation of other natives of India in social life. In *Jîmûtavâhana's Adventures in a Former Birth* it is explained (p. 141) that the hero was an immortal Vidyâdhara cursed by Śiva to be born again as a mortal, and he is so born, " as the son of a rich merchant in a city named Vallabhi

and his name was Vasadatta." He was afterwards seized by robbers, who take him to Pulindaka, their chief, as a sacrifice to Durgâ. But he is saved by a Śavara (savage) king who (p. 142) "gave him much wealth and sent him back to his own home." The next thing that happens is that "the very same Śavara chief" is brought before the king "as a prisoner for plundering a caravan," and Jîmûtavâhana saves him from the consequences by the heavy "payment of a hundred thousand pieces, and having in this way repaid the benefit which he conferred upon me by saving my life, I brought him to my house, and entertained him honourably for a long time with all loving attention." So here we have a Hindu merchant entertaining a Śavara, a savage outcaste, in his house: the said savage outcaste being himself a rich man.

Later on in the story (p. 148) Jîmûtavâhana marries Manovatî, an immortal Vidyâdharî. "Then I remained there in happiness, considering myself to have attained all that heart could wish, in having Manovatî for a wife and the Śavara prince for friend. And that Śavara chieftain generally lived in my house, finding that he took less pleasure in dwelling in his own country than he formerly did. And the time of us two friends, of him and me, was spent in continuously conferring benefits upon one another, without ever being satisfied [? satiated]." Here again we have a Hindu merchant and a savage outcaste living for a long time as close friends in the Hindu's house.

If this story discloses correctly manners in Somadeva's time, caste feeling must have been considerably less exclusive than it is at the present day.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

GLIMPSES OF VAJRAYANA, by BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYA. Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1925.

This is a thoughtful paper, read before the Third Oriental Conference held at Madras in 1925, on the important Vajrayâna School of Buddhism. Mr. Bhattacharya, whose *Indian Buddhist Iconography* is well known, traces the story of the School from the beginning in the dissensions which gave rise to the Mahâyâna and Hînayâna divisions of Buddhism in the reign of Kanishka, through the work of Nâgârjuna. The Mahayanists made Buddha a divinity and preached an extreme doctrine of salvation of mankind through Bôdhisattvas. This was in the first century A.D. Then in the third century Asanga introduced the *Tantras* into Buddhism, which did not apparently have much effect till suddenly in the seventh century they blossomed in it everywhere. With the Tantric cult came the Śakti worship and the "unholy association of men with women." It was then that Indrabhûti of Orissa stated the doctrine of *Mahâsûkhavâda* and the new School of Vajrayâna. Its doctrines "preached on the one hand the most sublime doctrines of Buddhism in a lofty and sublime manner, and on the other hand gave a blank charter to every conceivable immoral practice"—the grossest evil masquerading in the garb of the most refined good. This abomination gave rise to *sandhyâbhâsâ*, "twilight language"—speaking in terms containing "a very hidden meaning." It was very popular and created a vast literature in Sanskrit, Indian vernaculars and Tibetan.

Mr. Bhattacharya deals in his paper with Vajrayâna from the eighth century to its destruction at the commencement of the thirteenth century. It still exists in a small way and in a mild manner in Nepal. The enormous extent of the literature is accounted for by the numerous sects into which Vajrayâna has become divided. Its two great divisions were into Śaikshas and Aśaikshas—the Disciples and the Independents—those who did and those who did not require a teacher or *guru*. For the Śaikshas all the ritual and the superstitions were necessary, producing countless didactic works. Even the *Dhâranîs* or charms filled innumerable books, as there were some 500 divinities, each with dozen of characteristic rituals. For the Aśaikshas there was a large literature of philosophy.

Historically the Chinese travellers up to I-tsing in the seventh century do not mention Vajrayâna, nor does Sântidêva, who according to Mr. Bhattacharya flourished after 695. It was Padmasambhava who introduced the *mantra* doctrine into Tibet in 747. In legend he is connected with Indrabhûti, and in regard to this Mr. Bhattacharya makes a very interesting remark: "It is always safe to postulate a double or treble Indrabhûti in such cases"—*verb. sap.*

The Philosophic groundwork of Vajrayâna is described by Mr. Bhattacharya as based on the fact that Buddha never defined *nirvâna*, Aśvaghosha, however, 500 years later gave a definition, and then Nâgârjuna boldly defined it as *śûnya*, emptiness. This definition did not satisfy the public, and so

Maitrêyanâtha introduced the Yôgachâra system. That too did not satisfy the masses, and so the "element known as *Mahâsûkha*, the great happiness, was introduced. This gave rise to the Vajrayâna system, which gave everybody everything that was wanted—even the enjoyment of extreme lust to the lustful. It was naturally extremely popular. The *bôdhichitta*, "or the mind determined on obtaining *bôdhi* or *nirvâṇa* [now the highest heaven or feeling of eternal bliss], commences an upward march through the heavens." As formulated by Vajrayâna "the *bôdhichitta* is nothing but a male divinity of the nature of Śûnya and Śûnya they made a goddess, Nairâtmâ." This accounts for the grossly indecent figures of Yabyûm deities so common in Vajrayâna iconography. At the same time the Vajrayânists were greatly hostile to Hindu ritual and never lost an opportunity of reviling the Hindu deities.

The *Jñânasiddhi* of Indrabhûti, King of Uddiyâṇa, declares that "among all systems the Vajrayâna is the best", and Vajrayâna "is nothing but the *sarvatathâgatâjñâna*, or knowledge of all the Tathâgatâs of the Five Dhyâni Buddhas." It inculcates *inter alia* the uselessness of the worship of the external forms of gods, or of the *sâkâra* or images of the gods. It postulates "a divine form of the knowledge which exists in the mind," and teaches how that knowledge and "merit" can be acquired, and the very dangerous doctrine that there is no difference between purity and impurity. It winds up by describing various rules for ritual worship.

Mr. Bhattacharya then makes the very interesting statement that Anangavajra is identified with Gorakshanâtha, and flourished in the tenth century. He developed a form of Indrabhûti's system of Vajrayâna. It provides, if possible, greater sexual freedom in unequivocal language. This makes Mr. Bhattacharya remark: "It is no wonder that by practising this kind of religion, the whole of East India lost all vigour and the whole population became corrupted, and it is fortunate that the Muhammadans came to rescue the people by destroying all the Vajrâchâryas in three big monasteries, Nâlanda, Odantapurî, Vikramaśilâ, and probably Jagaddala also." Finally he quotes an attack on Hinduism in a still later Vajrayânist work: "A dog swimming in the Ganges is not considered pure, therefore bathing in holy places is absolutely useless. If bathing can confer merit the fisherman must be meritorious, not to speak of the fish and other [aquatic animals] who are always in water day and night. It is certain that from bathing sin is not even dissipated, because people who are in the habit of making pilgrimages are full of passion, hatred and other vices."

Here I leave Mr. Bhattacharya's most informing pamphlet with my congratulations on his account of a very important later Buddhist system.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE BIRD AND SERPENT MYTH, by PROFESSOR KALIPADA MITRA, Monghyr, 1926.

This pamphlet contains in effect a Distributionist theory, but at the same time it is a thorough and wide examination of the Bird and Serpent Myth, taking the story through all its ramifications throughout the world and showing an immense amount of research. I would, however, point out that here and there some mis-spellings of authors' names occur, which is a pity. Also the pamphlet is printed with two paginations, and this has prevented me from quoting its pages.

Prof. Mitra first states the essential points of the tale: "The hero in the tale has tasted the bitters of a step-mother's hatred. His mother is dead. His father has suddenly changed. He is no longer kind. He knows not that the venom of his step-mother has steeled the heart of his father. He and his younger brother are led to the execution ground. But the heart of the executioner is softer than a vile woman's and the princes escape into the jungle."

He then shows that the birds in the story, as told in Bengal, can talk. He next follows the tale of the talking bird through the *Jâtakas* and Pâli bird-lore, and thence through Jaina and old Sanskrit literature to modern India. And here he makes a remark with which I entirely agree: "One may object that what has been said above relates to divination proper, and does not indicate if the 'artists' really understood the talk carried out between birds or animals. Whether the 'art' really existed or not is no concern of mine. I am concerned only with the existence of popular belief that the language of animals could be understood and I am satisfied that such a popular belief did exist." I have myself remarked, when objection has been taken to a statement in a folktale on the ground that it was fantastic, that the point is, in my opinion, not whether the statement is fantastic or otherwise, but whether it was really believed in or not by the narrator. Writers and searchers are apt to lose sight of this point.

The Professor then tackles European, Egyptian, Assyrian, Jewish, South American and Australian tales of the dragon or serpent that can talk, and the belief that the method of obtaining a knowledge of the speech of birds and animals is to slay and aet some part of a dragon—especially the heart and liver. He then considers the traditional antagonism between the bird and the serpent, quoting the *Mahâbhârata* and the Babylonian records, and notes the similarity of the two stories. This induces him to dive into the vexed question of Indo-Babylonian intercourse in very ancient times, which he does with a wealth of learning. His enquiry is especially into "the connection between the Dravidians of Northern and Western India and the Babylonian Empire." I do not propose to follow him here further than to state that he quotes his

witnesses fairly, and opines that in times anterior to the *Vêdas*, the Dravidians and the Chaldæans were "neighbours to each other."

The Professor next goes into the question of urn burial in India and notes the connection of India with ancient Babylonia or Mesopotamia, in order to show the contact between the two civilisations. This brings him to consider a vexed question: "How the Dravidians came to be in India?" On this knotty point he has searched the authorities, and appears to hold that the Dravidians are autochthons in India with a wide commerce in Mesopotamia, but also that the resemblances pointed out by previous writers between "The Chaldæans and the Indian *Vêdas*" were due "to the existence of the two races as neighbours in Mesopotamia." This situation does not seem, however, to be quite clear.

Here the Professor makes a digression into the relative positions of the Dravidians and the Babylonians to show that it was the Dravidian serpent cult that permeated the Chaldæan civilisation, and thence spread through Babylonian conquest to Crete and Egypt, and through Crete possibly eventually to Britain and Scandinavia, *viâ* the Danube and Jutland. But here he has an unintentional dig at Elliott Smith, for he says that it was "certainly not the Phœnicians" that carried "Egyptian beads of blue glazed faience to Britain between 1500 and 1400 B.C.," and in italics he says: "The sea traders of the Mediterranean were at that time the Cretans." So "the serpent cult might thus have reached Crete and radiated therefrom to Egypt, the Danubian Valley, Scandinavia and Britain."

The Professor now turns to the further transmission of the myth from India to China, Japan and Polynesia and perhaps to Central America, which he says is more easily explained than the spread over Europe. Here he says: "I hold that the Bird and Serpent Myth—their mutual enmity and all that—was taken by the Arabs from India along the trade route." He then examines this proposition and passes on to China, Japan, Polynesia and Central Asia. Finally, he suggests Central Asia as the home of the Myth. Here again is a difficulty—*if* the Dravidians are to be held as introducing it to the Chaldæans and to be at the same time autochthons in India.

Various theories on the subject put forward by several authors are then examined, and finally he writes: "I claim that the bird and serpent myth common to so many countries is a cultural drift disseminated from India in historic and pre-historic times, by land or sea, directly or indirectly, along the track of conquerors in their career or the routes of merchants and traders, by the path of adventurous colonizers, prospectors and settlers." Lastly the Professor refers to Sir James Frazer's idea of homogeneity of beliefs involving "homogeneity of race," and "the old hiatus separating Neolithic folks from the Palæolithic," and also the suggestion that "the fact of secretary birds in Africa hunting serpents" was the origin of the myth.

The Professor winds up with the honest remark: "Those who deal with myths are all in the same plight, *i.e.*, to the historians they are no better than the knights of the poet, who, following the *Holy Grail* were stuck in the quagmire. For they say, from the arid wastes of mythology (myths and legends and all the kindred brood) can only crop up 'Mirages of History.'"

Personally, I have all along been an opponent of the Distributionist Theory as usually put forward, because of the difficulty of bringing it to proof, and of the danger consequently of the many theses argued out to prove it. It may, however, be after all a correct theory within limits which have yet to be ascertained. At any rate the pamphlet of Professor Kalipada Mitra exhibits an honest, learned and level-headed attempt to prove his point.

R. C. TEMPLE.

HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL INDIA, by ISHWARI PRASAD, with Foreword by PROF. L. F. RUSHBROOK-WILLIAMS. 1925. Indian Press, Allahabad.

The only little fault I have to find with this portly volume is firstly its size, 641 pp. under one cover, which makes it too heavy to hold in the hand, and secondly many Hindu names of Sanskrit form are cut short of the final *a* of syllables, which gives them an unfamiliar form: *e.g.*, Jaijakbhukti, Raj Raj Chola. Also such a form as "Tailap" I does not in any case seem right. Having made this little grumble, I have to say that it is a very fine work of original research, dealing with a period of special difficulty in Indian history between the death of Harsha in 647 to the arrival of Babur in 1526. After Harsha came the Rajputs for 500 years, dividing India into small evanescent States. Then came Muhammad Ghori in 1193, bringing in Muhammadan rule, and then the "Slave Kings" till 1296, when Alau'ddin Khilji raised an Empire for a time, followed by Muhammad Tughlak who did the same, to be followed in turn by local Muhammadan dynasties, including the Lodis of Delhi. At last came the Mughal Babur in 1526 to found an Empire with something like a central administration. A thousand years of confusion, which it requires a hardy historian to tackle, and Mr. Ishwari Prasad has done so with courage and great learning. He asks for suggestions, and here is one I have to make. Is it not time to drop the unfortunate expression "Slave Kings of Delhi"? In their method of life, temper and actions they were anything but "slaves." If I understand the term aright, they were real *mamluks*, successful military adventurers, who in all Oriental countries arose out of the peculiar social system there prevalent. The well-known Mamelukes of Egypt seem to have been of a precisely similar nature, so why not Mamluks of Delhi?

This is not a book that can be examined thoroughly in a review. There are too many points raised

in it. All that can be done is to look into its view of often recorded points in the history with which it deals. In doing so it will be seen that Mr. Ishwari Prasad is bold in his opinions, but that is really in his favour. A searcher is justified in forming his own views.

Let me then consider some of the most prominent instances of his investigation. Firstly, after briefly describing the rise of the leaders of the Turki guards of the Arab Khalifas in Persia to power, and the creation by them of petty principalities, he explains that one of them, Alptagin, seized Ghazni in 933 and was succeeded by his "slave" Subuktagin in 976, a *mamluk* if ever there was one. Subuktagin was the first to attack India and defeated Jaipal of Lahore, and thus showed the way to India before his death in 997 to Mahmud of Ghazni, the great raider. Mr. Ishwari Prasad rightly attributes his success to the want of "national patriotism" among the Rajput chiefs, and he also rightly says that he "although a great conqueror was no barbarian." He further says that the character of Mahmud has come down to us in two lines of report: to the Musalmans he was a champion of the faith, to the Hindus an inhuman tyrant. Nevertheless "Mahmud was a great leader of men, a just and upright ruler according to his lights, an integral and gifted soldier, a dispenser of justice, a patron of letters, and deserves to be ranked among the greatest kings in the world." This is an opinion which will have to be reckoned with by future historians, though Mr. Ishwari Prasad rightly says that Mahmud's work did not endure. The above quoted remarks also show, as will certain others to be made hereafter, that the honest historian should always look into the character of the ancient evidence he is exploring, as both contemporary and subsequent reporters are apt to be biassed by their predilections.

Mahmud's successors made no progress in India, and it was not till a century and a half later that Muhammad Ghori, to give him the name adopted by Mr. Ishwari Prasad, who had overthrown the last incompetent Ghaznavide, made any attempt at conquest. Then followed the two battles of Tarain in 1191 and 1192, with the defeat and death of Rai Pithaura and in 1194 of Jaichand of Kanauj, while his lieutenants, Kutbu'ddin Aibak and Muhammad *bin* Bakhtiyar Khilji, took large portions of Central and Eastern India down to the sea by 1202. The Rajputs had not improved and were defeated in detail. In 1206 Muhammad Ghori was murdered by a Khokhar on the way to Ghazni from Lahore, leaving behind him a large Musalman kingdom in Northern India. Mr. Ishwari Prasad's version of the story is well worth consideration.

We now come to his "estimate" of Muhammad Ghori. The difference between him and Mahmud was that he had a political mind and Mahmud had not. He was therefore capable of founding a State. He was moreover a munificent patron of literature. Hence his name has been handed down with fulsome flattery, and here again we have the lesson before us of the care necessary when reading contemporary evidence. In Persian history names of kings have come down as good or bad, not because they were such, but because of their religious activity. Thus the competent Sasanian monarch Yazdajird I (399-420) has become "the Sinner" for tolerating the Christians, and his successor Bahram Gor (420-438) is undeservedly a great hero for the opposite policy. So, too, the vigorous Kubad I (488-530) is to the Persians the very reverse of a hero, because of the support he gave to the Mazdakis, a communistic sect, whose levelling and free-love doctrines he found useful in repressing the power of the magnates, while Naushirwan (Khusru, Chosroes I), 531-579, the restorer of orthodox doctrine (Zoroastrianism of a kind) is a hero indeed. I remember also, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society some years ago, remarking that great as Aurangzeb was as an Emperor, his bigoted policy brought his Empire to ruin, and having my remarks at once controverted by a learned Afghan present; and then I saw that to him and his kind that great protagonist of Islam was one who could do no wrong. We have therefore always to be careful as to dealing with the evidence available as to the character of Oriental rulers. This is a point worth thorough investigation as Mr. Ishwari Prasad's historical estimates will show us.

Muhammad Ghori had no son to succeed him and one of his lieutenants, Kutbu'ddin Aibak, originally a Turki slave and essentially a *mamluk*, was his successor on the throne of Delhi by sheer personal merit. Thus was founded the dynasty, if we may call it so, of the Slave Kings, or as I should like to call it, of the Mamluks of Delhi, which lasted from 1206 to 1290, during which every *mamluk* who succeeded in turn was a remarkable man. After Kutbu'ddin Aibak came Altamish, who in 1228 received a patent of investiture from the Khalifa of Baghdad, and so founded a legal dynasty at Delhi. Then in due course came Balban, a true *mamluk* of the most remarkable capacity of them all. On his death arose that political confusion so common in all mediæval history everywhere, and out of this Jalalu'ddin Khilji emerged to the front as king in 1290, and founded a dynasty. The Khiljis, originally Turks, had settled in Afghanistan as a mixed race. Jalalu'ddin was an old man when he succeeded and not really able to cope with the situation in which he found himself, but he had a nephew and son-in-law, Alau'ddin Khilji, who rose to be one of the greatest men in mediæval India. The general account of his reign is of course well known. He created an Empire that practically covered all India, and he propounded a theory of kingship that placed the monarch above the law: "I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful, whatever I think to be for the good of the State or suitable to the emergency, that I decree." He was never a bigoted Muslim, yet he ill-treated the Hindus, which

ended in the undoing of the great Empire he had created for himself. He was nevertheless the first to organise a real standing army and he fixed a tariff of market prices. This last was a proceeding that could not last, but it shows the man and he was capable of enforcing it while he lived. Mr. Ishwari Prasad's estimate of this truly wonderful personality is worth study : "the reign of Alau'ddin represents the highest water-mark of Muhammadan despotism."

After Alau'ddin's death in 1316 came the usual scramble for power and the dispersal of the bulk of the Empire, making possible the career of the slave-minister Malik Khusru and the fiscal part of the career of the eunuch slave Malik Kafur, both miscreants of the first water, whatever their ability. Then came in 1320 the turn of the Karauna Turks in the person of Ghiyasu'ddin Tughlak, a man of humble origin, but of the ability that made monarchs of his predecessors, the Slave Kings of Delhi. Mr. Ishwari Prasad's estimate of him as "a mild and benevolent ruler," as a man who "loved simplicity" and "frank joviality" is worth attention. He was however harsh to Hindus for political reasons.

But the most celebrated Tughlak was his son Muhammad, the "mad" King of Delhi, according to the usual assumption, from 1325 to 1351. "Learned, merciless, religious and mad" is the general impression of this remarkable man, and he certainly tried some wonderful schemes. Mr. Ishwari Prasad's careful investigation, however, brings him to quite a different opinion. He starts by calling him "Muhammad Tughlak the ill-starred idealist," which is a startling view of him, to say the least of it. The general idea of him has been challenged before now, but if we are to accept Mr. Ishwari Prasad's estimate we must remodel our impressions. Among other things he says: "the verdict that declares him a cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant like Nero or Caligula does little justice to his great genius." As to this remark I present Mr. Ishwari Prasad with another. We get our ideas about Nero largely from the estimates of his enemies, the Christians whom he persecuted. Have we got them right ? He seems to have been a popular monarch to his contemporaries as a whole.

Muhammad Tughlak was succeeded by Firuz Tughlak for 37 years. Here again Mr. Ishwari Prasad upsets preconceived ideas. I at all events had looked upon Firuz Tughlak as a man of peaceful ways and lofty character, as a valuable foil to Muhammad Tughlak, but Mr. Ishwari Prasad will have none of this. He describes him as a man "with little ambition and less fitness for high position," and elsewhere as "weak and irresolute." Well, as time goes on, one gets accustomed to fixed ideas becoming challenged. In the latest issue of the *Journal of Indian History*, is an article to show that it was Harsha and not Pulikesin II to whom Khusru II of Persia sent his famous embassy, and that the ascription of the great picture at Ajanta had nothing to do with it. Some papers, too, read at the last Congress at Madras went to show that we have all been wrong about the date of Buddha's death. Obviously, even the main facts of Indian History are still debatable, and it may be that Mr. Ishwari Prasad is right after all. He is at any rate worth considering. However, whatever he was as to character, Firuz Tughlak was a great administrator, and that Mr. Ishwari Prasad seems to recognise. His death was followed as usual by a scramble for power, and the next event of the first importance was the invasion of Timur in 1398. Here once more we have uncertain history, for there are two views of Timur : that of his friends and that of his enemies. The controversy is not settled yet. Mr. Ishwari Prasad does not however, directly implicate him in the terrible sack of Delhi, which he calls "the sack of Delhi by Timur's soldiery." But it led to the disintegration of the Empire.

Mr. Ishwari Prasad then deals with the minor Dynasties that arose in Malwa, Gujarat, Jaunpur, Bengal and Khandesh, and with the Bahmanis and the Five Shahi Kingdoms of the Deccan—all of these, by the way, "minor" only because of the overpowering Delhi Empires. And then he deals with Vijayanagar. In this last case we have a Hindu Empire in the South keeping Muhammadan expansion effectively in check for 200 years—1336 to 1565—and even to this day the history of Islamic families in the South is not that of their history in the North.

In Delhi meanwhile nothing of general importance happened in the first half of the 15th century till the Afghan Bahlol Lodi came into power in 1451. Here once more there are two views of Delhi rulers. To the Muhammadans the Lodis were good rulers, to the Hindus they were terrible iconoclasts. Mr. Ishwari Prasad is again independent: "Bahlol deserves a high place in history." His even greater son, Sikandar Lodi, who was the first monarch to live at Agra, he describes as "a narrow-minded bigot, but not devoid of the higher qualities of the heart and mind." Mr. Ishwari Prasad is here striving to be fair even in the case of a persecutor of his faith. And then, in Ibrahim Lodi's time, who was "by no means an incompetent ruler" came in 1526 Babur the Mughal and the Battle of Panipat, when the use of field guns for the first time in India gave the intruding Mughal the victory. Thus ended the Middle Ages in India and the great Mogul Empire began.

The time has not yet come to pass judgment on this great book, but I have said enough to show what it contains. It may also be fairly said that it goes steadily from point to point, and does at least place before us clearly the history of India during a most difficult and obscure period.

R. C. TEMPLE.

KÂṬHAKA UPANIṢAD.

TRANSLATED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA.

Kâṭhaka (or *Kaṭha*) *Upaniṣad* is one of the best known amongst those often sublime and sometimes rambling texts known as Upaniṣads. Together with the *Chândogya* it has perhaps a claim to the foremost rank among them all. It has already been many times translated into various European languages.

It apparently belonged to that famous collection of fifty Upaniṣads which the unhappy Prince Muhammad Dârâ Shikôh caused to be translated into Persian. For, we find it in Anquetil Duperron's well-known collection[1] as No. XXXVII, with the bewildering name *Kiouni*[2]. Otherwise, the oldest translation into a European language, as far as I can find, is the German one by Poley, *l.c.* p. 113 *sqq.* (1847)[3]. Other German translations are those by Böhtlingk[4] and by Professor Geldner[5], as well as one of the three first *vallîs* by the late lamented Professor Hillebrandt[6]. There are English translations by Max Müller[7], by Whitney[8], by Hume[9] and perhaps still others[10]. Further, our text has been translated into Italian[11], and twice into Swedish[12]. There may be translations into other languages, too, but in that case they have, unfortunately, escaped me.

Of all these translations that by Anquetil Duperron can scarcely claim more than historical interest, though we know, thanks to the researches of Dr. F. O. Schrader[13], that his work is still not without importance for the constitution of the text of certain minor Upaniṣads. Poley's translation, on the contrary, still seems to be quite good. Certain emendations of the text were suggested by Böhtlingk and Whitney. Some of them, of course, are quite useful, but the majority seem to the present writer far too violent to be acceptable; and it may be said, with all due respect to Whitney, that his endeavours in the line of text-emendation were not always very happy. Hume's translation makes easy reading, but it is simply an imitation and modification of that by Whitney. However, amongst all the translations known to me there is one which stands out far above the others in penetration and clearness, *viz.*, that by Professor Geldner, the foremost living interpreter of the Vedas. I gratefully confess that I owe very much to this excellent piece of work, and it is only with great diffidence that I have ventured, upon various points, to differ from him. Several excellent suggestions are also found in the translation of Hillebrandt which, however, is unfortunately incomplete.

Of literature on this Upaniṣad, outside the works already quoted, there is little enough to be mentioned here. A few years ago Madhva's commentary on it was edited by Dr. B.

[1] *Oupnek'hat* (*id est, Secretum Tegendum*), Tom. ii. (Strassbourg 1802), pp. 299-327.

[2] Anquetil himself explains this by the words: 'Samskreticè, *Khmihi, magnus, magni momenti* : vel, *Kâmanâ, animi motus, aliquid intendere*' which is, of course, impossible. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, ii, 195, gives no explanation. I can, unfortunately, find no probable explanation. No. XXXVI in Anquetil Duperron's collection is the *Kena*, which is there called *Kin*. However, Colebrooke (cf. Poley, *Abhandlung ueber die heiligen Schriften der Indier*, p. 70) mentions the *Kena* as the 37th of the Atharvan Upaniṣads. Is it possible that *Kiouni* is simply a misunderstood rendering of *Kena* ?

[3] On L. Poley cf. Windisch, *Geschichte der Sanskritphilologie*, i, p. 94 sq.

[4] *Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (further on quoted—*SB.*) 1890, p. 127 sq.; cf. *ibid.* 1891, p. 85 sq.

[5] In Bertholet, *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* (1908), p. 202 sq.

[6] *Aus Brahmanas und Upanisaden* (1921), p. 116 sq.

[7] *SBE.*, vol. XV, p. 1 sq.

[8] *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XXI (1890), p. 88 sq.

[9] *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads* (1921), p. 341 sq.

[10] There is at least a translation by Roer which, however, I have not been able to see.

[11] F. Belloni-Filippi, *La Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad tradotta in Italiano*, Pisa 1904.

[12] A. Butenschœn, *Kathaka Upanishad*, Stockholm, 1902, and the late Professor K. F. Johansson in *Främmande Religionsurkunder*, ii, 153 sq.

[13] Cf. *Minor Upaniṣads*, vol. i, p. xv sq.

Heimann[14]. We ought, of course, to be very grateful for every publication of that sort; but the *real* interpretation of the text gets little help from those Vedântic commentators—whether Śaṃkara or anyone else—who constantly interpret it according to their own philosophical tenets. Further, there is a short paper by Hillebrandt[15] containing a few emendations to our text and another by Professor Sieg[16] of the same nature. The present writer always felt the highest consideration for the excellent services rendered by Professor Sieg to Vedic interpretation; but he feels sorry to say that, with perhaps some very slight exceptions, he finds the suggestions of the professor concerning our Upaniṣad entirely out of the question.

[When writing the above article I was, unfortunately, unaware of the article on the *Kâṭhaka Upaniṣad* by Dr. Faddegon in the *Mededeelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Deel 55, Serie A, No. 1* (1923). But as our aims seem to differ widely this has perhaps not done much harm. The excellent work by Professors Belvalkar and Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. ii, came into my hands only after this article had gone to print.]

The word *Upaniṣad* has generally been interpreted as 'secret session' and 'secret teaching, secret doctrine.' This interpretation apparently was known already to Anquetil Duperron, who translated it by *secretum tegendum;* and has been endorsed by Böhtlingk-Roth, Max Müller, Deussen and others. There can, according to my opinion, be no doubt whatsoever that this is the correct interpretation. It is quite true that the verb *upa-ni-ṣad-* occurs in very few passages; but when we find it in *AV.*, xix, 41, 1, in the connection *tapo dîkṣâm upaniṣeduḥ* it is quite correctly rendered by Whitney-Lanman[17] by 'sat down in attendance upon.' In *Śat. Br.*, xi, 2, 3, 7, we find the following words: *ghṛtaṃ tanvânân ṛṣîn gandharvâ upaniṣeduḥ* 'the Gandharvas sat down in attendance upon the seers who were sacrificing ghee.' Besides there is not much difference between *upa-ni-ṣad-* and *upa-sad-*, the meaning of which cannot be doubtful. It means 'to sit down near someone,' *viz.*, in order to worship or honour him, to ask him for something, etc. Cf., *e.g.*, *RV.* i, 72, 5; iii, 14, 5; vi, 1, 6; *Taitt. S.*, ii, 5, 1, 2; *MBh.*, vii, 5852; *Raghuv.* xvii, 22; *Kathâsarits.*, 108, 21, etc.[18] We may also remember the meaning of *upa-viś-* and the use of this verb especially in the dramatic literature. The preposition *upa* itself and its use in compounds like *upendra*, etc., also indicates the real meaning of *upa(-ni)-ṣad-*.

The noun *upaniṣad* consequently means 'the sitting down (of the pupils) near (the Guru),' *viz.*, in order to partake of his teaching. But apparently this word was not used in connection with the ordinary teaching of the Vedic hymns or the Yajus formulas, which was nowise carried out in secrecy. It was a technical term denominating those sessions of the Guru and his pupil(s) [19] during which secret doctrines, such as those of Brahman-Âtman, of

[14] *Madhvas Kommentar der Kâṭhaka Upaniṣad*, Halle a. S. 1922.

[15] *ZDMG.*, lxviii, p. 579 sq.

[16] *Aus Indiens Kultur, Festgabe für Richard von Garbe* (1927), p. 129 sq.

[17] *Atharva Veda Translation*, p. 963.

[18] Cf. also the meaning of *upaniṣadin* in *Śat. Br.* IX, 4, 3, 3.

[19] The Upaniṣads, it will be remembered are generally in the form of dialogues between two persons, a teacher and a pupil. Thus, *e.g.*, the *Kâṭhaka*, where the acting persons are only two, Yama and Naciketas, or the dialogues between Uddâlaka and Śvetaketu in the Chândogya Upaniṣad, etc. Cf. in modern times, *e.g.*, the interviews of Prince Muhammad Dârâ Shikôh with the ascetic Bâbâ Lâl Dâs (M. M. Huart et Massignon, *J.A.*, 1926: 2, p. 285 sq. *Revue du monde musulman* lxiii, 1 sq.). Mogul pictures give us a good illustration of these *upaniṣads* between teacher and pupil.

karman, etc.,—the main tenets of the Âraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads—were imparted.[20] It was used then to denominate those doctrines themselves and finally the collections of texts in which those doctrines were preserved. Thus *upaniṣad* by and by got its later meaning of 'secret doctrine' in general. There is absolutely nothing queer or bewildering in this development of the various meanings of the word.

Curiously enough the late Professor Oldenberg did not agree with this clear and indubitable explanation of the word *upaniṣad*.[21] According to him the verb *upa-ni-ṣad-* should have exactly the same meaning as *upa-âs-* ; and consequently *upaniṣad* would mean 'reverence, worship.' This worship, however, according to Oldenberg, was not the worship of the teacher, but that of Brahman-Âtman, and of other things held in reverence by the doctrine of the Upaniṣads. In spite of the great authority of Oldenberg, this is quite wrong. For, if *upaniṣad* meant what he suggests, then it could, of course, only be applied to the lonely meditation of the *yogî*, the *samâdhi* or *saṃnyâsa* and in no case whatsoever to the interviews between a teacher and his pupil. Moreover, the way in which Oldenberg wants to translate, in some passages, the word *upaniṣad* is clearly out of the question. We are quite prepared to admit that *upaniṣad* might, at times, mean something like 'reverence' but then it simply denotes the respectful attitude in which the pupil sits down next to his Guru in order to receive the secret doctrine from him.

Quite recently a Polish Sanskritist, Dr. Stanislaus Schayer, has tried to establish still another meaning of the word *upaniṣad*[22]. According to him *upaniṣad* 'is the equivalence between two magical substances to be arrived at during the act of *upâsana*.'[23] From this original meaning of the word he derives the following secondary senses: (1) 'secret formula of equivalence, secret knowledge in general' ;(2) 'equivalence, substitute,' and (3)' general interdependence between two substances, mutual interdependence, condition.' Besides transparent mistakes such as the curious misunderstanding of Pâṇini i, 4, 79, or the entirely wrong explanation of Pâli *upanisâ*, Dr. Schayer's paper contains translations which are apparently sheer absurdities. Thus as concerns *upa-âs-*[24], when simple sentences like *AV.* X, 10, 26 : *vaśâm mṛtyum upâsate* 'they adore the barren cow as Death' or *Śat. Br.* X, 6, 3, 12 : *satyam brahmety upâsîta* 'with the thought "truth is Brahman" one ought to worship it' are translated in the following way : 'sie umwerben (!) die Kuh als den Tod' and 'die Wahrheit ist das *brahman*, so muss man (die Wahrheit) umwerben (!).' One could scarcely hit upon anything more erratic in the way of translation. And in the same way the author treats the word *upaniṣad*. In *Śat. Br.*, xii, 2, 2, 13 we read : *ahar iti sarvaṃ saṃvatsaraṃ saiṣâ saṃvatsarasyopaniṣat*, which, of course, means : 'the day is the whole year, that is the secret meaning of the year.' In the same way *sâmnâm upaniṣat* in *Chând. Up.*, i, 13, 4, means 'the secret (mystic) meaning of the *sâmans*' ; of Dr. Schayer's 'equivalence' there is not the slightest trace anywhere.

These examples picked out quite at random sufficiently prove that the hypothesis of Dr. Schayer is untenable. There need not be the slightest doubt that *upaniṣad* has the

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[20] We know, of course, that such sittings were strictly secret. Cf. *e.g.*, *Bṛh. Âr. Up.*, iii, 2, 13, where the great Yâjnavalkya takes Artabhâga Jâratkârava by the hand and leads him away to a place where they could speak between four eyes. 'And what they spoke of, that was *karman*, and what they praised, that was *karman*.'

[21] *ZDMG.*, 1, p. 457 sq. ; cf. *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus* (1915), pp. 37 sq., 155 sq., 348 sq.

[22] *Rocznik, Orjentalistyczny wydaje Polskie towarzystwo Orjentalistyczne*, vol. iii, (Lwow 1927), p. 57 sq.

[23] This definition is not quite an easy one. It is, however, founded on the extremely artificial and topsy-turvy explanation of *upa-âs-* suggested by Dr. Schayer.

[24] On *upa-âs-* in the Upaniṣads cf. Senart, *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris 1909), p. 575 sq. His explanation of *Upaniṣad* is, however, out of the question.

meaning long ago adopted by Max Müller, Deussen, etc.[25] Amongst the innumerable problems presented by Indian sacred lore this one at least can be counted as solved.

As is well known, the different Upaniṣads are counted as belonging to different Vedas, the vast majority consisting, of course, of Âtharvaṇa Upaniṣads. But there seems to be some doubt about the position of the *Kâṭhaka* within the sacred lore. No doubt Anquetil Duperron[26] described it as 'ex Atharban Beid desumptum,' and Colebrooke enumerated it as the 35th and 36th *upaniṣad* of the Atharva-Veda. Still, he seems to have had some doubts about that, as he tried to ascribe it both to the Yajur-Veda and to the *Pañcaviṃśa-Brâhmaṇa* of the Sâma-Veda,[27] for which latter suggestion there is certainly not the slightest reason. According to Colebrooke, however, Śaṃkara and Bâlakṛṣṇa should have commentated upon it as belonging to the Atharva-Veda, an assumption which has been eagerly endorsed by Weber[28]. The consensus of the older authorities seems to be that the Kâṭhaka is in reality an Upaniṣad of the Atharva Veda.

This opinion, however, seems not to be too well founded. I do not lay much stress upon the fact that the contents of our Upaniṣad is not much like that of the Âtharvaṇa Upaniṣads in general. For, if the *Kâṭhaka* did really belong to the Atharva-Veda it would undoubtedly be the oldest of its species, and we would thus have no precedents from which to judge the contents of the earliest Âtharvaṇa Upaniṣads. But the name, *Kaṭha* or *Kâṭhaka*, is certainly inexplicable as that of an Upaniṣad belonging to the fourth Veda.[29] For, there cannot, of course, be the slightest doubt that this name *Kaṭha* is identical with that of the old sage Kaṭha, to whose school[30] belonged that branch of the Yajur-Veda happily preserved to us with the name of *Kâṭhaka-Saṃhitâ*. Judging from the name our Upaniṣad ought undoubtedly to belong to that branch of the Black Yajur-Veda.

In this connection we may perhaps draw attention to the fact that certain verses of our Upaniṣad are wholly or partly identical with verses from other Vedic texts. Of these the verse 4, 9 is nearly the same as *AV.* X, 8, 16 ; but at the same time its first line is identical with the first line of *Bṛh. Âr. Up.*, i, 5, 23. Verse 2, 5 is—with the exception of one single word—identical with *Muṇḍ. Up.* 2, 8 [31] ; but it is also identical with verse 7, 9 of the *Maitr. Up.*, a text said to belong to the Black Yajus. Verse 2, 23 is entirely identical with *Muṇḍ. Up.* 2, 3, while 5, 15 tallies with *Muṇḍ. Up.* 2, 10, but also with verse 6, 14 of the *Śvet. Up.*, a Black Yajur-Veda text. Of other coincidences verse 2, 20 tallies with *Taitt. Âr.* X, 10, 1 and with *Śvet. Up.* 3, 20 ; while 5, 12—13=*Śvet. Up.* 6, 12—13, and 6, 9=*Śvet. Up.* 4, 20. Finally, parts of the verses 4, 10—11 make up the verse found in *Bṛh. Âr. Up.* iv, 4, 19, and verse 6, 14=*Bṛh. Âr. Up.* iv, 4, 7. In this enumeration I have not included the passages in our text borrowed from the Rig-veda nor the verses 6, 16—17, which are apparently a later addition.

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[25] I have not taken into consideration here the suggestion of Mr. M. R. Bodas, *JBBRAS.* xxii, p. 69 sq., that *upaniṣad* should mean 'sitting down by the sacrificial fire,' as it is unnecessary and partly wrong.

[26] *Oupnek'hat*, vol. ii, p. 299.

[27] Cf. Poley, *l.c.* p. 70.

[28] *Ind. Stud.* ii, p. 195 sq.

[29] Is it possible that the unexplained name *Kiouni* in Anquetil Duperron's text (cf. *supra* p. 201, n. 2) has any connection with the attribution of our Upaniṣad to the Atharva-Veda ?

[30] That School is called *Kaṭhâḥ* by Pâṇ. iv, 3, 107, and is there mentioned together with the *Carakâḥ* another school of the Black Yajus. There are the *Prâcya-Kaṭhâḥ* and the *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭhâḥ*, and they are also mentioned together with other schools which need not be named here.

[31] The *Muṇḍaka*, as is well known, is supposed to be the oldest existing Upaniṣad of the Atharva Veda;

On the whole, the most numerous coincidences are with texts belonging to the Yajur-Veda, and we may conclude from this that our Upaniṣad most probably belongs to that Veda and to that *Śâkhâ* of it which is known as the *Kâṭhaka*.

The story of Naciketas is found also in the *Taitt. Br.* iii, 11, 8, 1-5, a text which must undoubtedly belong to an older period than our Upaniṣad. We are told there that Uśan Vâjaśravasa[32] gave away all his earthly goods, and that his son, young Naciketas, three times asked his father to whom he wanted to give him[33]. At last the father answered him : "To Death I give thee." And when the boy started for the abode of Death a certain (divine) [34] voice talked to him, advising him to arrive at the house of Death while he was absent. There he was to stay fasting for three nights. When Death, having returned, asked him : "What hast thou eaten the first night ?" he was to answer : "Thy offspring" ; and likewise concerning the second night : "Thy cattle," and concerning the third : "Thy good actions." Death, apparently scared out of his wits upon hearing this terrible news, now speaks to him : "Hail to thee, O venerable one !" says he, "choose a boon"—"Then may I living go to my father"—"Choose a second one"—"Tell me the eternal reward of sacrifice and good works"[35], thus he replied. Then he told him about this Nâciketa fire. Then forsooth his sacrifice and good works gave abundant fruit . . . . "Choose a third one," he said. "Tell me how to ward off (*apajiti*)[36] recurring death", thus he replied. Then he told him about this Nâciketa fire. Then forsooth he warded off recurring death.

This story tallies only partly with the *Kâṭhaka Upaniṣad.* According to the latter text Uśan Vâjaśravasa—otherwise the famous Uddâlaka Âruṇi—gave away all his earthly goods as *dakṣinâs.*[37] His young son Naciketas[38], when he saw the sacrificial cows being led away, was seized by longing for the heavenly worlds[39] and spoke a verse concerning those cows, which is not to be found in the Brâhmaṇa. Three times he asks his father to whom he is going to give him, until finally the father answers : "I give thee to Death."[40]

There must be something like a gap in our present text at this point, for the connection is apparently broken and can only be restored hypothetically. Anyhow, it is quite clear

[32] On him cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ii, p. 201 sq. and *infra.*

[33] That the father, after having given everything else away, should at last have to give even his own child undoubtedly reminds us of the stories of Hariścandra and of the Buddhist Vessantarajātaka (*Jātaka* 547 ; *Jātakamālā* 7 etc.) But the situations are, of course, entirely different.

[34] Thus the commentary.

[35] *iṣṭāpūrtayor me 'kṣitiṁ brûhi.* The *Bibl. Ind.* edition incorrectly reads *me kṣitiṁ brûhi.*

[36] The commentary reads *apaciti*, probably only by misprint.

[37] That probably, though not necessarily, means that he had been celebrating a *Sarvamedha.* Cf. Hillebrandt, *Rituallitcratur*, p. 154.

[38] The name is difficult, and the various explanations suggested are unsatisfactory. The Indian analysis *Na*+*ciketas* (: *cit-*), which was endorsed by Böhthingk, *SB.* 1890, p. 129 is, of course, without any value whatsoever. But Professor Wackernagel in his *Altind. Gramm.* ii: 1, 59 has quite correctly pointed out that *naci-* is the form of *nakra* to be used as the first part of a compound. There is no word *ketas*, but it would probably be found to have the same meaning as *ketu.* Thus *naci-ketas* would mean about the same as *makara-ketu* or *makara-dhvaja*, well-known epithets of Kâma. The son of Uddâlaka Âruṇi, of course, is *Śveta-ketu* (cf. Professor Lüders, *Festschr. Windisch* p. 228 ff.) ; it is, anyhow, remarkable that both names, *Naci-ketas* and *Śveta-ketu*, seem to end in the same way. *Nakra*—though probably originally a colour-name—can, however, not be identical with *Śveta.*

[39] Cf. *infra.*

[40] Hillebrandt, *Aus Brahmanas und Upanishaden*, p. 116, thought that we might find here an obliterated trace of a *puruṣamedha* in connection with the giving away of all wealth. To me this seems fairly probable, but it cannot be proved satisfactorily.

that in the next lines we find the young Brahman in the realm of Death, nay, even in the very palace of Yama, for whose wishes he at once asks. I have hesitatingly attributed the verse 1, 6 to *Mṛtyu* suggesting that he be the bailiff of Yama ; but I willingly admit that this is perhaps not strictly necessary, and that possibly Naciketas and Yama are the only speakers in the whole Upaniṣad.[41] Of the (*daivî*)*vâk* known to the Brâhmaṇa there is not the slightest trace in our text, nor is it necessary to assume its presence ; the whole thing is probably the pure fancy of an author who had before him some verses very much like 1, 5-9 of the Upaniṣad.

Naciketas himself announces that he, a Brahman, enters every house[42] like Agni Vaiśvânara, the guest of all mankind, and proudly exhorts Yama to fetch him water. And he adds a sententious verse to remind the King of Death of the risks he is running by having had a Brahman in his house (for three nights, as we get to know from verse 1, 9) without offering him food. Yama, in real fright, now offers him to choose three boons. Naciketas first of all wishes that his father may greet him joyfully when he returns to his house.[43] Then he wants to know about the fire that leads to heaven, and Yama explains to him the Nâciketa-fire, though we do not get to know its secret. This part, which Professor Geldner[44] has quite aptly called the *karmakâṇḍa* ends with verse 1, 19. Thus far also goes the Brâhmaṇa episode, though there Naciketas in his third wish wants to know how to evade *punarmṛtyu ;* and this is also done by means of the Nâciketa-fire.

It is extremely probable that there was an old story—possibly in metrical form—of a young Brahman by name Naciketas, who was taught by Yama how to build the fires in a way that leads to the heaven of the Vedic gods. And by worship (*upâsana*) of, and speculation upon, that fire he would also be able to ward off renewed death, *i.e.*, to obtain immortal life in the heaven of bliss and sensual pleasures.[45]

But in his third wish—*punarmṛtyor me 'pajitim brûhi*—there was the point of start for a real Upaniṣadic treatise. In verse 1, 20 of our text Naciketas is made to ask what is the fate of the dead—not the dead in general, but the *muktâḥ*, as Râghavendra and Deussen have already stated—but Yama does not want to reveal his great secret. He offers the boy all that any living man would set his heart's desire upon, last of all lovely girls and sensual pleasures ; but Naciketas is steadfast, and at last Yama is forced to answer his question, and thus to explain the Brahman-Âtman question. But he does not do it very willingly, and Naciketas time after time[46] has got to exhort him to keep to the point.

Thus there begins in 1, 20 the real Upaniṣad, the *jñânakâṇḍa*[47], which consists of the whole of our text up to 6, 15, a verse that ends with the words *etâvad anuśâsanam.*[48] Most interpreters have thought that the original Upaniṣad finished with Vallî 3, and that 4-6 were later additions. But even here Professor Geldner has seen more clearly and pointed out that there is a considerable stop after 3, 15 [49], but that the Upaniṣad by no means ends there. He seems to me to be wrong only in that, following Râghavendra, he attributes verse 4, 3 to Naciketas, which is unnecessary and does not improve the sense of the passage.

[41] That this is the case in what is really the Upaniṣad (viz. from 1, 20 to 6, 15) is quite regular, cf. *supra* p. 202 sq.

[42] It is possible that a verse like 1, 7 was known to the author of the Brâhmaṇa as the words *parehi mṛtyor gṛhân* in iii, 11, 8, 2 seem to be a misinterpretation of *gṛhân* in our text.

[43] This wish really comprises two, *viz.*, that the father will be able to greet him, and that he himself will return to life. For there is no reason whatsoever for doubting that Naciketas, when he arrives at the house of Yama, is physically dead.

[44] *Vedische Stud.*, iii, p. 154 n.

[45] Cf. *AV.* iv, 34, 2 etc.

[46] Cf. 2, 14 ; 5, 4. 14.

[47] Cf. Geldner, l.c. iii, p. 154 n.

[48] The verse 6, 16, was taken from the *Chând. Up.* viii, 6, 6, and put in here by someone who had totally misunderstood the word *granthayaḥ* in 6, 15. The greater part of 6, 17 is taken from *Śvet. Up.* iii, 13. Finally 6, 8 is a sort of late patch-work with wrong grammatical forms, and apparently added at a later time.

[49] 3, 15-16 are apparently later additions in an epic style.

By making this short comparison between the *Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa* passage and the Upaniṣad we can, I think, see how the later one has originally been built up.

The *Kâṭhaka* is counted by Deussen and others as belonging to the second period of the greater Upaniṣads which, however, tells us nothing about the time of its origin. Oldenberg long ago[50] found that metrically it is pre-Buddhist; and Professor Stcherbatsky recently[51] seems to take this quite for granted. However, to say that its metre is " pre-Buddhist " can only mean that it is in general more ancient-looking than the metres occurring in the oldest Buddhist texts, as *e.g.*, the *Sutta-Nipâta* and others. But of their age we know nothing—only that they did probably exist at the time of Aśoka (*c.* 250 B.C.). To me it appears that the surroundings are entirely the same that we meet with in the old Buddhism. The question put to Yama in verse 1, 20 is exactly the same as that repeatedly put to the Buddha, *viz.*, " does the Tathâgata survive after death, or does he not survive ?" In 5, 11-12 *duḥkha* and *sukha* seem to have the same sense of ' unrest ' and ' rest ' that they have in Buddhist philosophy, as proved by Professor Stcherbatsky ; *śânti* is just as well Buddhist as Upaniṣadic, etc. It thus seems probable that our text belongs to about the same time as the oldest Buddhist texts—perhaps the fourth century B.C.—and that it originated in the same spiritual surroundings as did those works.

Oldenberg once[52] pointed to the great similarity between the scene where Yama tries to evade the third question of Naciketas by offering him land, wealth, cattle, women and sexual pleasures, and the well-known one where Mâra tries to divert the Bodhisattva from his designs on Buddhahood by tempting him with all the goods and pleasures of this world—amongst others with his three lovely daughters. There is not the slightest doubt that these scenes *are* closely connected with each other. But at the bottom of them both is the old Indian idea of the holy man who is becoming a danger to the gods, and whose holiness they try to destroy by appealing to his carnal desires.[53]

Naciketas, the Brahman boy who overcomes the resistance of Death, is the male counterpart of the divine Sâvitrî, who by her wise words induces Yama to release the soul of her dead husband Satyavân and give him back to life. Nothing better can be said for him than this, that in him and Sâvitrî Sanskrit literature has perhaps created its most sublime figures.

With these perfunctory remarks I turn to the text itself. It need scarcely be pointed out that I do not lay claim to any very startling discoveries. I venture to think that in a few passages I have perhaps succeeded a little better than previous interpreters—that is all.

(To be continued.)

[50] *ZDMG.*, xl, p. 57 sq.

[51] *Central Conception of Buddhism*, p. 68.

[52] Cf. *Buddha*, 5th ed., p. 60 sq.

[53] The Apsarases such as Menakâ, Urvaśî, etc., are well known as being the tools of the gods in these unsavoury endeavours of theirs.

SOME LITERARY NOTES ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE GOVINDALÎLÂMṚTA.

BY CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

THE *Govindalîlâmṛta* is a fairly popular Sanskrit Kâvya among the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. It deals, as its name implies, with the amours of Râdhâ and Kṛṣṇa. Its popularity is attested by the fact of its having been translated into Bengali verse as early as 1610 A.D. by Yadunandana Dâsa. Numerous manuscripts of it found and noticed or described by various scholars in notices, reports and descriptive catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. in different parts of the world point to the same fact. But curiously enough there has been a good deal of confusion among scholars with regard to its authorship. Thus one set of scholars attributes it to Raghunâtha Dâsa[1], while another is inclined to suppose Raghunâtha Bhaṭṭa as its author.[2]

All this confusion seems to have arisen out of a verse which occurs, *mutatis mutandis*, at the end of every canto. At the end of the last canto it runs as follows :—

श्री चैतन्यपदारविन्दमधुपश्रीरूपसेवाफले
दिष्टे श्रीरघुनाथदासकृतिना श्रीजीवसंगोद्गते ।
काव्ये श्रीरघुनाथभट्टवरजे गोविन्दलीलामृते
सर्गोयं रजनीविलासबलितः पूर्णस्त्रयोविंशकः ॥

"This the twenty-third canto, full of nightly amours, in the *Govindalîlâmṛta* which is the fruit of waiting on Śrî Rûpa, the bee, as it were, of the feet-lotus of Śrî Chaitanya—which was directed by the scholarly Raghunâtha Dâsa—which resulted from the companionship of Śrî Jîva—which originated from the boon of Śrî Raghunâtha Bhaṭṭa, is complete."

Evidently the verse does not name the author of the work, but only refers to persons through whose inspiration and help the author undertook and finished his work.

But this should not lead one to suppose that the name of the author is not mentioned at all in the work. It is true we have got no colophon proper to this work, where we could expect the name of the author. A verse however in the last canto of the work (xxiii. 95) definitely refers to the author. It runs :—

पादारविन्दभृङ्गेन श्रीरूपरघुनाथयोः ।
कृष्णदासेन गोविन्दलीलामृतमिदं चितम् ॥

"This *Govindalîlâmṛta* was composed[3] by Kṛṣṇadâsa who was a bee to the feet-lotus of Śrîrûpa and Raghunâtha."

This leaves scarcely any room for doubt as to the authorship of the work. But this is not the only place where Kṛṣṇadâsa is referred to as the author of the book. He is distinctly mentioned as the author by Yadunandana, both in the beginning and at the end of his metrical Bengali translation of it. The commentary *Sadânandavidhâyinî* on it, as contained in the published edition of the work, also attributes it to Kṛṣṇadâsa in the introductory verses.

As a matter of fact the book is quite well-known, among the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal, as the work of Kṛṣṇadâsa. The edition of it, in Bengali characters, published from Berhampur (Murshidabad) bears his name as the author. And it is a matter for gratification that of all

1 *Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency for 1887-1891*, No. 394 ; *Ibid for 1891-1895*, Nos. 494, 495, 496 ; *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the India Office*, vol. VII. No. 3878.

2 *Report on the Search of Sans. MSS. in the Bombay Presidency for 1884-87*, No. 350 ; *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the Library of the Calcutta Sans. Coll.*, vol. X. No. 32 ; *Notices of Sankrit MSS.*, R. L. Mitra, vol. II, No. 571 ; *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the Bikaner State Library*, No. 488.

3 A more literal translation of the verse would be :—'This nectar of the amours of Govinda (i.e. selected stories of his amours) was collected, etc.' But this is tantamount to saying that the work was composed by Kṛṣṇadâsa.

published catalogues the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the Ulwar State Library* (p. 38) rightly attributes it to Kṛṣṇadâsa[4].

This Kṛṣṇadâsa seems to be identical with Kṛṣṇadâsa Kavirâja, the well-known author of the *Chaitanyacharitâmṛta* (a Bengali metrical work on the life-story of the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal, viz., Chaitanya), which, by a statement of the author himself, was composed in 1503 S.E. (=1581 A.D.) [5] He came after the celebrated companions of Chaitanya viz., Rûpagosvâmin, Jîvagosvâmin, Raghunâtha Dâsa and Raghunâtha Bhaṭṭa and held them, as did all later Vaiṣṇava Masters of Bengal, in high respect. This accounts for his reverential mention of them in the *Govindalîlâmṛta.*

THOMAS CANA.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(*Continued from page* 165.)

6. *Thomas Cana finds the crucifix in Malabar.*—Roz (1604) says that Thomas Cana found the Christians of Paru (Parur) wearing wooden crosses round their necks. This point appears therefore to rest on an ancient tradition. [*Cross*, but not crucifix.]

7. *No ordained ministers in Malabar.*—This is suspect. In Land's *Anecdota*, the Christians of Malabar are several times represented as being without priests and leaders, *i.e.* at the persecution of Mâṇikka Vâchakar (the date of which appears to be 293—315), and before the arrival of Thomas Cana. Cf. Mingana, *op. cit.*, 43. Mingana (*ibid.*, 18) has, however, found that " during the Patriarchate of Shaḥlûpha and Pâpa, say about A.D. 295-300, Dûdi (David), bishop of Baṣrah, on the Persian Gulf, an eminent doctor, left his see and went to India, where he evangelised many people." [No one knows which part of India.]

In document IV. l. 4 we are told that there were clergy in Coromandel, but that they neglected Malabar. We have some idea that long before A.D. 345 there was at Mylapore a monastery of 200 monks, and that therefore the abandonment of the Christians in Malabar is an exaggeration. The church of Kuravalangad claims to be of the year 335[120].

Before A.D. 363 Yônân was Abbot of a monastery of St. Thomas in India, near (or below) the black island (Syr. : *gâzartâ ûkâmâtâ*). It had 200 monks. The island was near the town of Milon, six days from Maron, and got its wine from Persia. It had date-trees and palm-trees and crabs of enormous size. It was the see of a bishop. The inhabitants of Milon fished for pearls. Brother Pâpa sailed to it from Mesopotamia, and it was constantly visited by solitaries from Mesopotamia. Mingana does not know (*ibid.*, 18—22) where to locate it. His efforts to place it in an island of the Persian Gulf are not convincing. He would not mind if it had been at Mylapore, since the place of St. Thomas' tomb in India had a monastery and a church[121] of vast size before A.D. 594. Precisely. There is room for it in India as early as 363, close to St. Thomas' tomb, near the ' black sand ' island, (Karumaṇal, a village on

[4] In recording this Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. II, Supplement, curiously makes Kṛṣṇadâsa the son of Raghunâtha Bhaṭṭa. The statement however lacks any corroborative evidence.

[5] Yadunandana, at the end of his translation of the *Govindalîlâmṛta*, and the *Sadânandavidhâyinî*, the Sanskrit commentary on it, in the introductory verses identify the two authors, and there is no reason why we should reject that identification.

[120] This claim is not supported by any document. In fact the dates for the Malabar churches in the Catholic Directory are mere guesses in most cases. We know how in Bishop Lavigne's time these dates were arrived at for the purpose of the *Directory*—from mere tradition in most cases.

[121] In spite of Medlycott's arguments in his *India and Thomas*, (London, 1905, pp. 74–79) I think that the church and monastery that Theodore saw some time before A.D. 590 were in Edessa *in civitatem quam Syri Aedissam vocant: in supra dicta igitur urbe, in qua beatos artus diximus tumulatos.* (*Ibid.*, p. 80, note).

the coast near Madras), near Milon[122] (Meilan ? Mayila-pur). Mylapore had a fishery of pearls at a much later date ; it had cocoanut-trees, and at least wild date-trees[123] yielding liquor and sugar ; its crabs of enormous size may have been sea-turtles. If that were so, that monastery of 200 monks should have existed at least 100 years before, say, in A.D. 220–30, when the *Acts of Thomas* was composed in Edessa. The first monks must have known at Mylapore people who had known there the Apostle Thomas or his immediate successors, the priest Sifur and the deacon Prince Vizan. We thus reach down to St. Thomas himself at Mylapore. Mylapore is Calamina. It was Calamina for Bar Hebraeus in 1246–86, and the Mount of India on which St. Thomas preached and was killed was for Bar Hebraeus near Calamina. It was Little Mount. Had we not this proof, we would have sufficient proof from Malabar that St. Thomas died and was martyred at Mylapore. The whole of the Malabar tradition[124] supposes it, and that tradition, as we now see, was inherited by the present Christians from those who lived in Malabar before[125] the arrival of Thomas Cana in A.D. 345.

The existence of a monastery of St. Thomas at Mylapore is borne out by what we find in Iṭṭûp's *History* (Malayalam, Kottayam, 1869, pp. 81–82). After the death of St. Thomas and before the arrival of Thomas Cana in 345, two of the 72 disciples of Mâr Augen (Agwîn, Augîn), named Śâbôr and Śabri Yêsu, came and looked after the church (of Malabar and Mylapore ?). They were students of the great college on the hill north-east of the town of Śaibîn (Nisibis ?). These details are found in the genuine records still kept at Antioch in the archives of the Patriarch. Śâbôr died here. Śabri Yêsu returned to his own country of Besanaherim, and wrote and kept in the college an account of the Church founded by St. Thomas in Malabar. Thus Iṭṭûp, in extracts translated by Mr. Joseph.

I believe that the names Śâbôr and Śabri Yêsu belong to A.D. 825[126], while the rest seems to belong to *c.* A.D. 363. Iṭṭûp, I learn from Mr. T. K. Joseph, mentions (p. 95 of an edition of his work, dated 1896) two bishops Mâr Śâbôr and Mâr Aprôt who came to India from Babylon in A.D. 825, in the ship of the merchant Śavarîs. This Śavarîs is no other than Sabir Iśô or Yêsu. Some call him Bârêśu ; others Job ; others Towrio and Thor. The names which Iṭṭûp should have had for the much earlier period are, I think, Yônân and Zâdoê, contemporaries, and successive abbots of the monastery of St. Thomas in India near (or below) the black island. Yônân had met in Egypt Mâr Augên or Agwîn, writes the historiographer Zâdoê, Yonan's successor. And we know that Agwin died on the 21st of Nisan, 674 of the era of the Greeks, *i.e.* April, A.D. 363. On the Convent of Eugene, see Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. I. 524. It is said that Augîn came from the Nitrean Desert in Egypt with seventy disciples to Nisibis and founded near it, on Mount Izlâ, a monastery where he gathered 350 monks. Many believe that monasticism for both sexes existed at an even earlier date in East Syria. Cf. Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, 42–43, 110. Crowds of monks came daily from India, Persia, and Ethiopia to St. Jerome in Palestine (A.D. 386–420). The pilgrim lady Sylvia (Ætheria) already speaks of the many pilgrims from Armenia, Persia, India, Ethiopia and Egypt who came to

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122 Milon, six days from Maron. The name Milon seems to be derivable from Maliarpha (the old form of the name Mylapore, also called Mayilai).

123 The date-trees of Mylapore are not real date palms, but palmyra palms, yielding "liquor and sugar", *i.e.* toddy and a kind of dark-red sugar of big crystals, called *panaṅkalkanṭam* in Malayalam.

124 The extant versions of Malabar tradition do say that St. Thomas lies buried in Mylapore. These are but 400 years old. And from these to infer that in, say, A.D. 150 Malabar tradition said that it was St. Thomas the Apostle himself that lay buried in Mylapore—if there was any tomb at all there at that time—is not reasonable. From the tradition of 1500 to that of 150 is a far cry indeed. We do not know at all what Malabar or Mylapore tradition about the Mylapore tomb was in A.D. 100, 200, 300, 400, or 500. We know Cosmas (535 A.D.) has not a single word about St. Thomas in Malabar.

125 We do not know for certain whether before 345 A.D. the Malabar Christians regarded St. Thomas as their apostle or not. Certain versions of Malabar tradition do indeed say that it was Thomas Cana who introduced Christianity into Malabar. Malabar tradition is a hopeless muddle.

126 Sabor and Sabri Yesu are regarded by Ittup as quite different from Sabor and Prodh of 825 A.D.

the Holy Places (c. 383-388). In the Life of Barlaam and Josaphat (5th-7th century) we read that India had its monks in imitation of Egypt. Cf. Migne, *PL.*, 73 ; 445.

8. *The Bishop of Antioch coming after another bishop.*—This must be wrong. Our writer stands alone here. Thomas Cana is here made to bring the two bishops in turn. The first time the bishop appears to be he of Oruoy or Edessa with his party of colonists, in which case there is no reason for bringing still another bishop from Antioch. The only apparent reason is that our author, confusing Oruoy with Antioch, felt the need of bringing a bishop from both places.

9. *The Dareoygul* (*Dhariyaikal*)[127].—This is explained by our writer (*op. cit.*, p. 192) as meaning "those who were unmoved," *i.e.* the Christians of only 8 families, out of an original 64, who persevered during the persecution of Mâṇikkavâchakar ; 96 out of 160 families, he contends, apostatised outright from the beginning and became known as 'Munneygramacar,' or "the disciples of Mâṇikkavassel." In the list of the 18 castes by whom the Christians were to be judged (cf. his note to p. 194 *op. cit.*) we have "the head Munnigraummumatcheen or Manikavassel's disciples, Sooders or Nairs." There seems to be indeed among the Malabar Christians[128] a tradition that these are apostate Christians. Was this Mâṇikka Vâchakar possibly a Manichean ? There would seem to have been a vast apostasy in Malabar, if we are right in identifying with King Antrayos[129] (Andrew) of Cranganore the deacon-king Xanthippus-Xenophon of Sandaruk-Andrapolis-Andranopolis, converted by St. Thomas at the first town in India[130] where he landed, *i.e.*, the king at whose court the marriage feast took place.

10. *The Cotaycoyle.*—Might these not be the Christians of Parur, also called Parur Kôṭṭakkâyal, and corruptly Kutkayel in Land's *Anecdota* ? There is a touch of tradition here. Roz (1604) states that the first Christians found by Thomas Cana were those of Parur.[131]

The Angelica must be the Tamil *anjili-maram* (*Artocarpus hirsuta*, Lam.) : a wood of great value on the Western Coast for ship-building, house-building, etc. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* angely-wood[132].

The following list[133] of privileges said to have been granted to Thomas Cana is taken from an anonymous MS. by a missionary, who in or after 1676 was living at the Carmelite Church of Anjicaimal (Ernakulam). His name, I suggest, is Fr. Matthew of St. Joseph, who

127 The Dareoygul are Tarisâykkaḷ, literally orthodox Christians. The term Tarisa Church occurs in the Quilon copper-plates of c. 880. According to John de Monte Corvino (c. 1300) the Christians of China too were called Tarsa. In Malayalam songs and prose accounts of the 17th, 18th centuries the term Tarutâykkaḷ is applied to all Christians—those of Malabar, of Mylapore and even the Portuguese. It was a synonym for the Latin word 'Christiani,' which has displaced the old term Tarutâykkaḷ. 'Unmoved' is not the true sense of the word. It is from a Syriac word meaning orthodox. Tartary Christians too were Tarsas.

128 The old men among the Hindu Manigramakkar themselves admit that their ancestors were Christians.

129 The spurious song of 1601 stands alone in giving the name Andrew to the king of Cranganore.

130 Most other authorities say that Andrapolis or Sandaruk was outside modern India altogether.

131 Parur and Cranganore are very close to each other. Cotaycoyle is Kôṭṭakkâvil, Parur.

132 Angelica is *âññili*, *Artocarpus hirsuta*, which yields durable timber used for a variety of purposes. It may be called the teak of the lowlands.

133 Most of the privileges in this list correspond to those in footnote 100. No. 6—White cloth spread on a carpet is a seat of honour used even now at marriage feasts. Only the chief elders can sit on it. No. 12—Fr. Monserrate wrote from Cochin in 1579 of "the custom existing in this Malavar that there is no pollution between these Christians and the Nayres, nor penalty of death, if there be marriage or friendship, whereas, according to the custom of the land, there is, if they communicate, stay, or marry with other castes higher or lower than custom allows to them." (*Ind. Ant.* for July, 1927, p. 130). No. 13—*Cheremellas* resembles Malayalam Chêrmangalam in sound. The Malayaḷam word means gong, but its derivation is not known From *atambore* comes the Malayalam word *tampêrų* a kind of drum,

helped Van Rheede on his *Hortus Malabaricus*, Amsterdam, 12 vols., 1676–1693. Cf. Sloane MS. 2748-A, British Museum, fol. 7r.

(1) They may, the women as well as the men, crown themselves in the manner of kings.
(2) They may play every kind of instruments.
(3) They may ride on elephants on their feasts.
(4) They may light and carry in their hands candles at all their feasts.
(5) They may use big royal fans, in the manner of very great lords at their feasts and wear every sort of ornament and apparel.
(6) They may in their feasts and solemnities use white clothes and sit on them.
(7) They may in the streets walk on white cloths, like noble and privileged persons.
(8) In their feasts they may give shouts and signs of joy and jubilee, and also grant permission to other Gentios to do the same.
(9) In the journeys and processions of the feasts they may fire *espingardes* in sign of joy.
(10) They may use every kind of jewels and ornaments of gold and silver and silk.
(11) They may enjoy every royal privilege.
(12) They may enter all houses of noble Nair families, converse with them, and travel with them, which is not granted to any other castes.
(13) They have all the privileges, permissions, liberties and powers for celebrating and solemnising in public all the day and night feasts, with bells, great and small, with drums and trumpets (*atambores e cheremellas*), processions and preachings, with greater freedom than in Europe, without any fear, but with very great respect and esteem.

The same writêr says of the Naddi[134] (fol. 5v): "They are a caste of hunters, and have no other occupation; they go about with their bows and arrows, and are obliged to accompany the Nairs, Gentios[135] and Christian hunters."

He also lays stress on a great apostasy in Malabar in the time of a Namburi sorcerer, 'Changalajari' or 'Changara chiari' (Śaṅkarâchârya)[136], whom he confuses with Mâṇikka Vâchakar, but places before the arrival of Thomas Cana. Three hundred royal families[137] remained Christian and faithful under persecution. He states also that the very Hindus affirmed there was an image of Our Lady in the pagoda called Tir Corunfa[138] belonging to the king of Upper Cranganore (fol. 10r.).

11. Among four castes of Chitties we have the Mullia Chitties. Did these come from Mayilâ (Mylapore)? We have also the Pullivaula Chitties. May we compare Pullivaula with Pahlava or Pallava? I find in a relation by Fr. Andrew Lopez, S.J. (1644) that at Ramanancor (Fishery Coast) there were Christians of Palavali caste, with whom the Paravers fraternised. Had these been won back from among the people who at Bepar (Vaipar) and Bembar (Vembar) were Hindus in 1604, though they considered themselves of ancient Christian caste? In 1644 there were Christians at both Vaipar and Bembar: 850 and 1300 respectively.

134 Naddi is for Nâyâṭi, a hunting low caste.

135 Nairs too are Gentios, Hindus.

136 This writer of 1676 took the heretic preacher to be Śankarâchârya of the 9th century. It may be by a similar mental process that others took him for the famous Mâṇikka Vâchakar of the Tamil land. The heretic preacher may have been a Manichaean, wrongly identified with Mâṇikka the Saivite fanatic, and Śaṅkarâchârya the great reformer of Hinduism in Malabar.

137 'Royal families' here perhaps reflects the appellation Mâppiḷa for the Syrian Christians, which Gouvea (1599) translated as sons of Kings (*Jornada*, fol. 4v.).

138 Tir Corunfa stands for Tiru Kuṛumpa, Sanskrit Śrî Kurumbâ, the goddess Kâḷi, who was represented to this missionary of 1676 as Our Lady. Gama and his companions went to 'Mass' in a Hindu temple in Calicut, 1498. Castenhada's *Historia*, p. 57; *Roteiro*, Hak. Soc., p. 54.

12. *The list of Bishops.*—This list of Bishops is a remarkable document. Most of the names and dates for 825–1500 are not found in our European authors. The list must however be far from complete. Did all these bishops come from Antioch, as stated ? In other words were they all Jacobite ?

'Mar Sabore Ambroat' of A.D. 825 is Mâr Śâbôr and Mâr Aprôt (Prodh, Pirût, etc.). The name of the merchant 'Towrio' is a misspelling of Sowrio, Śavarîs, Śabir Iśô. Correa (1570) has strangely enough 'Apreto and Thor' (*Lendas da India*, I. 594).

Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas (*Brief Sketch of the History of the St. Thomas Christians*, Trichinopoly, 1924, pp. 13, 19) has a similar list, to be compared with the Conancode MS. As he refers to Le Quien (II. col. 1275) for Mâr Śâbôr and Mâr Prôdh, his date for them, A.D. 880, must be that of Le Quien. Fr. Bernard mentions that all these bishops were sent by the orthodox Patriarch of Antioch (pp. 12, 13, 19). [But see *infra* for Jacobite and Nestorian bishops.]

He next names: 988: John; 1056: Thomas; 1122: John III, who went to Rome in 1122 (perhaps the Jacob, 1122, of the Conancode MS.); 1231 (*sic*): Joseph; 1235: David; 1295: Paulos; 1301: Jacob; 1407: Jaballaha; 1490: John (add: and Thomas, who returned to Mesopotamia soon after, but returned in 1504); 1504: Thomas, Jaballaha, Jacob, and Denha (for these four see also Mingana, *op. cit.*, 41–42). Our list shows that the bishops appointed to India did not uniformly take the name Thomas, contrary to what certain writers have suggested.

Raulin (*Hist. eccles. Malabaricæ*, Rome, 1745, p. 435) adds: John II. in 890.

For Jacob in 1321, see Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 69, where he is styled in Codex Syr. Vat. N. XXII: "Bishop Mar Jacob, Metropolitan and director of the holy see of the Apostle St. Thomas, that is to say our director and the director of all the holy Church of Christian India." Was he an Indian ? Zechariah, son of Joseph, son of Zechariah, a deacon, who wrote the above in 1301, in a colophon, at the Church of St. Cyriacus of Shingala (Cranganore), calls himself a disciple and one of the relatives of this bishop.

"In A.D. 1000 there resided at Cranganore a bishop named John. In a historical Syriac work it is written that he resuscitated his servant, *i.e.*, the sacristan of the church of Cranganore. Gouvea says that Fr. Roz, Archbishop of Cranganore, read this in the aforesaid book. S. Giamil (*Genuinae Relationes*, Romae, 1902, p. 436) states that the book is still in the Vatican Library." Cf. R. P. A, Kaliancara,[139] *Defensio Indici Apostolatus Div. Thomae Apostoli*, Cochin, 1912, pp. 28-29. 'Gouvea' is a mistake for 'de Souza', *Oriente Conquistado*, Pte. II. Conq. 1, Div. 2,16. We have quoted elsewhere the very words of Roz. The Mar Johannan of A.D. 1000 is no doubt the Johannes, Metropolitan, of A.D. 988 in the Conancode MS.

Do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 12. c. 5 (t. 8, Lisboa, 1788, p. 288), writes of Mar Johannan: "After the death of these Chaldeans [Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh], they sent to Babylonia asking for Bishops, as they had no facility to send to Rome, because through the death of these there was left to them only a Deacon, who assumed the work of a priest, thinking he could do so, since all were so ignorant. Receiving this message, the Greek Patriarch provided them with an Archbishop, called Mar Joanna, and the two Suffragans, his Coadjutors and future successors. This Chaldean Archbishop arranged the Chaldean Breviary which this Church used until now, and he made his residence at Cranganor. By the death of this Archbishop and these Bishops, (**P. 289**) there succeeded another, called Mar Jacob, who had also come from Babylonia; he governed many years, and died about the year 1500." Do Couto's last date cannot be correct. The story of the single deacon who assumed the work of a priest is also told about A.D. 1490. It is possible however that at times the priesthood had practically died out in Malabar. From a report by Mesopotamian bishops, who came to Malabar in 1555 and visited the Syrian Churches during two years and a half, we learn

139 R. P. A. Kaliancara is a fictitious name. The author died a few years ago.

there were only 5 priests left. Cf. Fr. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 32. By 'Greek Patriarch' do Couto understood a Nestorian Patriarch. According to him the Greek Patriarch who sent Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh was a Nestorian.

John de' Marignolli met the Patriarch of the St. Thomas Christians (*c.* 1348), but whether at Mylapore or in Malabar or at Bagdad, which he also visited, is not stated.

Gouvea (*Jornada*, 1606, fol. 76r) states that, in the Church of Diamper in which the Council of 1599 was held, lay buried a Nestorian bishop.[140] He does not however give his name or his period. He only remarks that Diamper had been the see of some Nestorian bishops. In 1599 they showed still at Diamper some of the things which had belonged to the said bishop, among them a very short and narrow bed on which he slept for penance. "Going to sleep on it one night, he did not rise for Matins." Possibly, his name is still remembered at Diamper, and his grave shown.

Le Quien, quoting many weighty authors (Tom. II, Paris, 1740, pp. 1086-87-88) says that the Patriarch of Antioch used to appoint 'Catholicoses' who had not the title of Patriarch, although they were in authority above the Bishops, and that these Catholicoses were consecrating Bishops to govern the above-mentioned countries [India, Persia, etc.]. The same Le Quien in the same place says that in A.D. 1000 the Nestorian Patriarch Abraham II. of Babylon sent up a petition to the Caliph of Bagdad, stating that a Catholicos under the Patriarch of Antioch was during night time consecrating bishops for the territories under his jurisdiction. Thereupon the consecrating Catholicos and the consecrated bishops were seized and imprisoned. A letter of Peter, Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch in communion with Rome, written about 1050 A.D. to Dominic of Graden, throws further light on the subject (Le Quien, *ib.*). The Patriarch claims that his actual jurisdiction extends to the far East, including India, that he appoints Catholicoses for Babylon, and other regions, and that these Catholicoses have supervision over several bishops, but that they do not take the title of Patriarch. Cf. Bernard of St. Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 12. Nilos Doxopatrios, notary of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who wrote (*c.* A.D. 1143) a history for King Roger of Sicily, states that the Patriarch of Antioch still appoints and sends a Catholicos to Romogyris[141] in India. Cf. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, Gütersloh, 1877, p. 163, n. 1. Several Portuguese writers note that at times Jacobite bishops as well as Nestorian bishops came to India before the arrival of the Portuguese. [Has Peter in communion with Rome, *c.* 1050?]

We have purposely included this list of bishops in this study. It must prove that Malabar itself can help in the reconstruction of its Christian history. If in 1820 the Syrians could look back 1000 years, up to A.D. 825, it was possible for them, who never passed from barbarism into civilisation, to do the same in A.D. 825, and to reach down to St. Thomas himself. Chronology was a tradition in the East. It had a cult for genealogies. In 1599, Menezes met a man in Malabar who was 123 years old, and who could give not only the years, but the months and days he had lived. He had scored on sticks the days and the months and the years. (Gouvea, *Jornada*, fol. 108r.) Our list ought to stimulate further research in Malabar for the period 825-1500. For the earlier period we look for help chiefly to Mesopotamia. A considerable amount of facts and dates has been gathered already for the period 300-825. More must exist. Even here Malabar can help, when it can give us in a MS. of *c.* 1700, discovered by Mr. T. K. Joseph, the dates 293 for Mâṇikka Vâchakar's persecution of the Christians of Kâvêripaṭṭaṇam, and 315 for his coming to Quilon. [In spite of Menezes', Van Goens' and Tippu's holocaust of Malayalam and Syriac MSS. it is extremely gratifying to see that several valuable historical records still survive among us in Malabar. They have yet to be published.]

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140 Perhaps Mar Sapor or Mar Prodh of A.D. 825.

141 Romogyris seems to be formed from (Ko)ṭungalore (Cranganore) by aphesis, mutation of *ḷ* into *r* (the reverse of lambdacism) and the addition of a Greek suffix. Cerebral *ṭ* is by Europeans sometimes represented by *r*.

NEW TYPES OF COPPER COINS OF THE SULTÂNS OF GUJARÂT.

By C. R. SINGHAL.

IN 1923, while cutting a passage through the hill north-east of Marole near Andheri railway station in Salsette for laying the Tansa Pipe Line, the labourers of the Tata Construction Company discovered a copper vessel measuring four feet two inches in circumference and one foot in height. Half of this vessel was filled with coins covered with such a thick layer of verdigris that it was a difficult task to make out anything from them. This vessel was removed from its find spot to Vakola on the east of Santa Cruz, where it remained for sometime with Mr. Master, who was acting as an Agent to the Tata Construction Company.

I have seen the exact spot where these coins were found. The vessel containing coins was found at a depth of about four feet from the surface of the elevated rock which was being cut for making a passage for the Tansa Pipe Line. Round about this spot, there are hills and jungle, and no traces of earlier or present habitation are found. The present village of Marole is also at a distance of about two-and-a-half miles from this place. It is very strange that a big hoard of coins like this should be found in such a solitary place. It does not seem to be the work of thieves, as the vessel with coins is too heavy to have been carried away by them from a distant place and been buried in this hilly area; nor was the intrinsic value of the coins so great as to induce them to undertake such an enterprise. There is, however, a small stream with flowing water just at the foot of this hill; and as I was told by the representative of the Tata Construction Company that there are some old bridges a little higher up on the east, it is not unlikely that the site may have been very near to some trunk road connecting Gujarât with the Deccan. How and under what conditions the treasure was buried remains a mystery all the same.

Mr. H. B. Clayton, I.C.S., the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, communicated this information to the Museum authorities, and was kind enough to offer this find to the museum if it had any numismatic importance. Three of these coins sent by him for examination were found to be of the Sultâns of Gujarât. It was expected that such a big hoard of coins was sure to reveal some new dates and types of the coins of the Sultâns of Gujarât, and accordingly I was deputed to bring the whole find, intact with its receptacle, on a bullock cart from Vakola to the Museum.

As stated above, these coins were covered with such a thick coating of verdigris that it was not possible to decipher the inscriptions and assign them to any king. Besides some of them had stuck together in the form of big lumps which could not be separated without endangering the surfaces of some of the specimens. After some difficulty the services of a chemical assistant were made available, and the work of scientific cleaning and decipherment etc., could then be taken in hand in right earnest.

This find, consisting of about 6100 coins, is presumably the largest and one of the most important finds of the coins of this dynasty. In the first instance the collection was roughly examined, and coins were separated according to different Sultâns of Gujarât. Next more detailed and minute examination was made, when the dated were separated from the undated; and ultimately those bearing new dates and representing new types were separated for purposes of publication.

About half a dozen scholars have written learned articles on coins of this dynasty, but Indian Numismatists will ever remain grateful to the late Dr. G. P. Taylor, who published his scholarly and exhaustive article on the coins of the Gujarât Sultanat in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1903.

Incidentally it was noticed by me that Mr. E. E. Oliver had contributed an article to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. LVIII, 1889, pp. 1-12), wherein he described thirty-two coins of the Sultâns of Gujarât. Coins No. XI to XIII are assigned to Mahmûd Shâh I of Gujarât, while really they are of Mahmûd Shâh and Kalim Ullah of the Bâhmanî Dynasty, as pointed out by Dr. Taylor in his article. Coins No. XVI and XVII are described by him as doubtful. Dr. Taylor also made a negative statement to the effect that they are not of the

Sultâns of Gujarât. These coins belong to the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty of Ahmadnagar. Recently in 1926, Professor S. H. Hodivala has contributed a learned article on the unpublished coins of the Sultâns of Gujarât to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

The coins which will be described in this paper are believed to be altogether new types and have not been published anywhere so far. This find consists of coins of the Sultâns of Gujarât from Ahmad I to Bahâdur Shâh, but it is specially rich in the coins of Mahmûd I to Bahâdur Shâh. The coins of Ahmad I and Bahâdur Shâh found in this hoard bear dates 843 and 941 A.H., respectively. Therefore these coins cover a period of about a century. As the coins of Bahâdur Shâh are of so late a date as 941 A.H., it is, therefore, believed that this hoard of coins was buried in the earth somewhere in the closing year of Bahâdur Shâh's reign. This hoard also contains a large number of specimens of Muẓaffar Shâh II, out of which the dated coins are of 930 A.H., the last two figures written in the reverse position. Besides it may be interesting to note that one coin of Fîrûz III, Tug͟hlaq, (752-790 A.H.), two coins of Ḥusain Shâh of Jaunpur (863–881 A.H.) and one coin of Shâh-i-Hind (published by Dr. G. P. Taylor in *Num. Suppt.* No. 33) are also found in this hoard.

I am not in a position to explain how these coins got mixed with this hoard of the coins of the Sultâns of Gujarât. The presence of these four coins may be the result of some oversight. It would not be safe to make any more definite suggestion.

The new types which I am going to describe belong to Maḥmûd Shâh I, Muẓaffar Shâh II and Bahâdur Shâh.

From the historical point of view, the coins of Maḥmûd Shâh I are the most important, as they appear to extend the period of Maḥmûd Shâh's reign to 919 A.H.

Coins of Maḥmûd Shâh I.

Coins of Maḥmûd Shâh I bearing the date 919 A.H. have not been noticed so far. All the historians and other learned authorities say with one voice that Maḥmûd I reigned up till 917 A.H.=1511 A.D. In the *Bombay Gazetteer,* vol. I, part 1, 1896, pp. 248, there is the following statement :—

" From 1508 Mahmud remained at his capital till his death in December A.D. 1513 at the age of sixty-seven years and three months, after a reign of fifty-four years and one month." Now the year 919 A.H. began on the 9th March 1513 A.D., and Maḥmûd died in December 1513 A.D., *i.e.* nine months later. The coin, therefore, corroborates the statement in the *Gazetteer* and extends the period of Maḥmûd's coinage right up to the year of his death, *i.e.* up to 919 A.H. There is one more important coin of this Sultân which has on it the mint town Muhammadâbâd. Dr. Taylor says in his article, on page 317, " In silver the issue must have been considerable—my cabinet contains some thirteen specimens—but I have never found a single copper coin bearing the name of this mint." Silver coins of this Sultân of the later dates are found ; copper coins have been noticed of dates up to 911 or 912 A.H only, but this hoard contains coins of all the years from 911 to 919 A.H., except 918.

Coins of Muẓaffar Shâh II.

There are four new types in the coins of Muẓaffar Shâh II. The interesting coins are those which bear خلد الله ملکہ below the name of Muẓaffar Shâh. In one case the legend is written in such an unusual way that it becomes altogether inexplicable. Silver coins with this legend are found, but I have not come across any copper coin bearing it. Dr. Taylor has described one silver coin of Muẓaffar Shâh II with خلد الله ملکہ as legend (*vide* No. 50, page 333 of his article). But he says " this coin may be Muẓaffar Shah III, to whom it is assigned in the British Museum Catalogue, Muhammadan States, No. 440." I have seen a photograph of the coin in the British Museum referred to by Dr. Taylor, and I am of opinion that both these coins belong to Muẓaffar Shâh II, as the coin which I have got is more or less similar to them.

Coins of Bahâdur Shâh.

The coins of Bahâdur Shâh are very important in as much as they contain about eight new varieties not published so far. Muhammadan numismatists, I believe, will be

delighted to see these coins as they present quite a new way of inscribing the legends. Some of the coins bear the same inscription on the obverse and reverse, while others have obverse of one type and reverse of another type. This may be the result of the illiteracy of the workmen who were employed to strike these coins. These coins will be fully described in the catalogue given below :—

CATALOGUE OF COINS.

Maḥmûd Shâh I.

No. 1. 214 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 919.
Obverse. Same as T. 22.
Reverse. Same as T. 22, but 919 as date.
Coins of this date are not known so far.
No. 2. 216 grains : Mint Muḥammadâbâd : A.H. (9) 15.
Obverse in circle. محمد آباد
السلطان
شاه شاه
محمود بن محمد
Reverse. Same as T. 22, but [9]15 as date.
Copper coins with Muḥammadâbâd as mint town have not been found so far.
No. 3. 141 grains : Mint ? : A.H. ?
Obverse in circle. السلطان
شاه
محمود
Reverse. Same as T. 26.

Muẓaffar Shâh II.

No. 4. 220 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 929.
Obverse in circle. مظفر (شاه)
٩٢٩
خلد (الله ملكه)
Reverse. Same as T. 44.
No. 5. 219 grains : Mint ? : A.H. ?
Obverse in circle.
(السلطان)
مظفر شاه
خلد الله ملكه
Reverse. Same as T. 44.
No. 6. 217 grains : Mint ? : A.H. ?
Obverse in circle.
(السلطان)
مظفر شاه
خلد الله ملكه
Reverse. Same as T. 44.

Copper coins of Muẓaffar Shâh II with خلد الله ملكه have not been described up till now. Coin No. 6 is similar to No. 5 but it presents the strange way of writing خلد الله ملكه. This coin proved difficult to decipher because the upper stroke of د is joined with ا, thus giving a strange appearance.

No. 7. 220 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 930.

Obverse in circle

السلطان
مظفر شاه
٩٠٣
خلد الله ملكه

Reverse same as T. 44.

In the date the last two figures are inscribed in the reverse position. I have got about 90 coins in which the date is inscribed in this fashion.

Bahâdur Shâh.

No. 8. 216 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 938.

Obverse in circle.

مظفر
بن
بهادر شاه
السلطان

Reverse same as T. 52, but date 938.

In this coin Muẕaffar Shâh is inscribed at the top while Bahâdur Shâh is in the middle.

No. 9. 219 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 933.

Obverse in circle.

السلطان
بهادر شاه

Reverse, Illegible.

This is altogether a new type. The inscription on the reverse is very complicated. These coins range in dates from 932 to 934 A.H. These coins may be the earliest specimens of Bahâdur Shâh.

No. 10. 145 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 932.

Same as above.

This is a smaller specimen.

No. 11. 218 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 934.

Obverse in circle.

السلطان
بهادر مظفر
شاه شاه
٩٣٤

Reverse same as T. 52.

The inscription on obverse is written in a different way altogether.

No. 12. 218 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 93X.

Obverse same as above.

Reverse.

السلطان
المظفر
قطب الدنيا
(والدين)

The reverse of this coin is same as T. 52 but it bears ابوالمظفر السلطان in the place of ابوالفضل

No. 13. 219 grains : Mint ? : A.H. 93X.

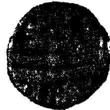
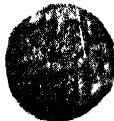
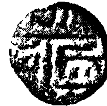
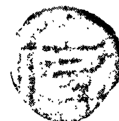
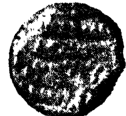
Both reverse impressions.

One is same as the illegible reverse of No. 9 above.

The other is same as reverse of T. 52.

No. 14. 219 grains : Mint ? : A.H. ?

Obverse and reverse same as reverse of T. 52.

Number of Coin	Obverse	Reverse
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		

No. 15. 216 grains : Mint ?: A.H. ?

Obverse and reverse same as obverse of coin No. 11 above.

No. 16. 218 grains : Mint ? : A.H. ?

Both obverse impressions.

One is same as obverse of No. 9 above.

The other is same as obverse of No. 11 above.

Coins Nos. 13 to 16 may be considered as mistakes in minting.

[NOTE.—Professor S. H. Hodivala, the well-known authority on Gujarât numismatics, on reading the above article in the first instance, made several comments, which were referred back to the author. Omitting points that have been settled or which are not of essential importance, the issue of the correspondence may be briefly summarized below for the benefit of our readers.

Professor Hodivala considers the most important point to be the question of the date of the death of Maḥmûd I. He has examined six specimens of the coins which Mr. Singhal reads as of 919 A.H., and thinks that the figures on three of these (written in the reverse order) not improbably stand for 914. The *Bombay Gazetteer*, he suggests, is at best a second-hand authority; and the statement therein is, moreover, discounted by the fact that the compiler has not quoted the source of his information, in view of the discrepancy of two years from the date found in the most accredited Persian histories, such as the *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî, Târikh-i-Firishta, Mirât-i-Sikandarî* and *Mirât-i-Aḥmadî*. He points out that while there are Maḥmûd I coins of 917 and, as now described, of 919, there are none of 918; and he also draws attention to the fact that two copper coins of Mazaffar II. are registered by Mr. Nelson Wright (*Indian Museum Catalogue*, II, Gujarât, Nos. 57 and 58) which are clearly dated in 918. He thinks it would be hazardous to base on these coins a theory for upsetting the accepted chronology of the two reigns concerned. Prof. Hodivala also pointed out that the phrase خلدّ الله ملكه is a common adjunct on the silver coins of Muzaffar. Mr. Singhal says as to this that he only referred to the peculiar way in which the letters were inscribed, and to the fact that, though found on silver coins, copper coins with this legend had not hitherto been described.

To Professor Hodivala Mr. Singhal's coin No. 8 is the most interesting of those described, as he finds the style or script very similar to that of the 'Shâh-i Hind' coins, of which he possesses a large number of specimens, on some of which the margins, which have hitherto defied decipherment, can be read without much difficulty, and about which he has been preparing a paper to show that they were struck, not by Babur or Humâyûn, but by Bahâdur.

Numbers 13 to 16 Mr. Hodivala would prefer to class as freaks.—JOINT EDITOR.]

BOOK-NOTICE.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA : ANNUAL REPORT, 1924-25. Edited by J. F. BLAKISTON. 12¾×9¾ ; pp. xiii, 270 ; 43 Plates. Calcutta, 1927.

Mr. Blakiston, who edits this report, fitly preludes it with a feeling reference to the great loss sustained by the Department in the untimely death towards the close of the year of that distinguished archæologist, D. Brainerd Spooner.

Section I contains a summary of the conservation work (including repair), which forms so essential a part of the functions of the department, carried out during the year. Due attention is being paid to the protection from erosion and other destructive agencies of important inscriptions. Under this head we notice a reference to exploration work beneath the Tughlaq mausoleum at Tughlaqâbâd, which has shown that the graves within are the real sepulchres, and that there is no crypt beneath, as had been thought.

Section II deals with exploration and research. At Taxila substantial progress was made in the excavation of the older city on the Bhir Mound and of the later Scytho-Parthian city of Sirkap under the supervision of Sir John Marshall, who records an important find of 1167 silver coins, mostly punch-marked Indian issues, including some in the shape of oblong bent bars from 1¼ to 2 inches in length, but also 3 Greek coins of special interest and a well worn *siglos* of the Persian empire. Two of the Greek coins are of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridaeus. Apart from the fact that this is the first recorded find of such coins in India, the discovery helps to confirm previous conclusions as to the period when Indian punch-marked coins were in circulation and to fix the date for the upper strata of buildings on the Bhir Mound. Among other interesting antiquities found at these sites may be mentioned 18 copper coins of Kadphises I and 2 of Azes II, and 4 terracotta "votive tanks," recalling those in use in ancient Egypt as far back as the third dynasty. Exploration conducted by Mr. H. Hargreaves on mounds near Sibi, Kuchlak, Saranan and Mastung in Baluchistan indicated that the sites had been occupied for a considerable time before and after the Christian era; but it seems unlikely that the remains can throw any light on Indo-Sumerian history or art.

The chief interest of the report, however, undoubtedly lies in the further details afforded of the work being carried on at Mohenjo-daro in the Larkana district of Sind and at Harappa in the Montgomery district of the Panjab, which reveals to us the existence of a prehistoric civilization on the plains of the Indus comparable with that of Sumer

and of Elam, and carries us back all at once to a period as far anterior to the times of Cyrus the Great as his age lies from us. The site at Mohenjo-daro, covering an area of about a square mile of rolling mounds, seems to have lain originally on the western bank of the Indus, which has since shifted its channel further to the east. "Wherever trenches have been sunk in these mounds," writes Sir J. Marshall, "the remains have been disclosed immediately below the surface of a finely built city of the Chalcolithic period (3rd millennium B.C.) and beneath this city of layer after layer of earlier structures erected successively on the ruins of their predecessors." The buildings exposed in the uppermost stratum comprise temples and dwelling houses constructed of kiln-burnt and sun-dried bricks. The houses are bare of ornament, but "remarkable for the excellence of their construction and for the relatively high degree of comfort evidenced by the presence of wells, bath-rooms, brick flooring and an elaborate system of drainage, all of which go to indicate a social condition of the people surprisingly advanced for the age in which they were living," that is to say in the transition stage between the stone and copper ages. They were using stone knives or scrapers of the crudest types, yet were familiar with the working of copper, gold, silver and lead and probably of mercury also, and were engraving seals "in a style worthy of the best Mycenaean art." On these seals we find the tiger, elephant, rhinoceros and various other animals, delineated but not, as it seems, the horse, which Sir John suggests was probably imported into India at a later date by the Aryans. The inscriptions on these seals are all in the pictographic script of the period, and have yet to be deciphered. Among the mass of antiquities so far recovered mention may be made of two striking paste stamp seals, one with a "Brahmani bull" (*bos indicus*) device in relief and another with a representation of the sacred fig tree (*Ficus religiosa*), as the details of the leaves clearly show. The handsome and well preserved painted vase, 2 ft. 5 in. in height, found at site D and the other pieces of painted pottery at once suggest comparison with the painted pottery from Susa and that recently discovered by Mr. Langdon at Jemdet-Nasr in Mesopotamia. It is noteworthy that among the finds registered during the season, which we are told far exceeded the total recorded in a single season at any other site in India, were 177 shell objects, indicating an extensive use of sea-shells for purposes of inlay as well as for personal ornaments. At the present time Mohenjo-daro must be some 200 miles from the sea by the shortest land route, and making allowance for the advance of the deltaic coast-line in the course of five millennia, the ancient city must have lain about as far from the mouth of the Indus by river. A maritime connexion at least is clearly suggested, though there be yet no definite evidence of intercourse with Sumer and Elam by sea, as Professor Sayce has pointed out.

At Harappa, in the Montgomery district of the Panjab, some 450 miles away, by the side of an old bed of the Râvi (or was it in ancient times a still more important river ?) have been found remains of very similar character, generally speaking. Attention was first drawn to this site by Masson in 1826, and five years later by Burnes. Cunningham examined the site in 1853, 1856 and 1872-3, and it was in his report for the latter year that the famous 'Harappa seal,' the first of the 'Indo-Sumerian' seals to be found, was described and illustrated. We are told that several previously unknown sites in this vicinity have been revealed by an experimental aeroplane survey along some fifty miles of the old bed of the Râvi.

Important as are the finds recorded in these pages, much more has been discovered during the three years that have since elapsed, as we gather from an account communicated to the *Times* newspaper, especially at Harappa, where antiquities have been found of a type even earlier than those obtained so far at Mohenjo-daro. It would be difficult to exaggerate the value from the point of view of the history of early civilization of the discoveries already made at these two sites and of those likely to follow when adequate staff and funds are available to conduct operations on a scale commensurate with their importance. Scholars are becoming impatient for a comprehensive and up-to-date report on discoveries that must mark an epoch in the history of archæological research, and necessitate a complete re-adjustment of previous views on the so-called "Aryan" civilization of India. Long cherished beliefs are indeed being shattered, and old theories revolutionized; and we begin to realize that archæological exploration is still more or less in its infancy. All interested in the subject will also eagerly await the results of the exploration and excavation work recently carried out by Sir Aurel Stein in Makrân, the Gedrosia, inhabited by Ichthyophagi, of Arrian, where will probably be found traces of one at least of the lines of intercourse by land between ancient Sumer and Elam and the Indus basin.

In Section III, which deals with epigraphy, attention is drawn to several important inscriptions either discovered or deciphered during the year. Progress is being made with the publication of the *South Indian Inscriptions*. We would welcome similar work in some of the northern provinces. Under *Miscellaneous Notes* in Section VIII a description is given of a Mathura image of the Nâga Dadhikarṇa of the Kushâṇa period, and a new find is recorded of 15 Andhra lead coins from the Guntur district, some of which are of Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi and Vâsiṣṭhîputra Pulumâyi. The numerous plates are excellently produced. What we chiefly miss in these annual reports are maps showing the position at all events of the principal sites where exploration has been carried out, in relation to the surrounding country or to geographical features marked on the available Survey sheets.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

KÂṬHAKA UPANIṢAD.

TRANSLATED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA.

(*Continued from page* 207.)

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

Vallî I.

Uśan Vâjaśravasa[54] forsooth gave away all his earthly possessions. His was a son, *Naciketas*[55] by name (1). While the sacrificial gifts were taken away[56] longing[57] took possession of him though he was only a young boy[58]. And he thought to himself: (2)

"These (cows) have drunk water, chewed grass, given milk and are barren[59]; verily, bliss[60] are those worlds to which he goes who gives such ones away." (3)

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54 *Uśan* generally is translated by 'in zeal' (Wh.), 'with zeal' (H.), 'gern' (B.) etc., which gives no sense. For, if the man gave away all his possessions it is quite obvious that he did it willingly or even with zeal. Weber, Oldenberg and Geldner have thus rightly seen in it a proper name. I would suggest that this text (as well as *Taitt. Br.*) did originally read *Uśâ ha vai Vâjaśravasah* etc., *i.e.*, the name was originally *Uśan*, which was identical with the Avestan *Usan* (nom. *Usa*, cf. Bartholomæ *Altiran. Wb.* 406). When this was later misunderstood it was altered into the senseless *Uśan ha vai* etc. On *Vâjaśravasa* cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, ii, 201 sq.

55 On this name cf. *supra* p. 205.

56 Another translation is attempted by Hillebrandt, *ZDMG.*, lxviii, 580. But H. has slightly misunderstood the situation, and we need not follow him here.

57 *Śraddhā* invariably is translated by 'faith' or 'Glaube' (just as in v. 13 *śraddadhāna* is translated by 'who have faith'). But even the very artificial explanations show that there is something wrong in such a translation; and 'faith' in our sense of the word has got nothing to do with the feelings of the young Naciketas. Longing for a happier world, to which both the giver and the gifts are to proceed, is what he feels. *Śraddhā*, according to the dictionaries, has this sense only in the epics and the classical literature, but this is by no means sure. Simply to translate the word by 'faith' in texts like the Rigveda is certainly wrong, as it creates in modern readers an impression which is totally foreign to the Vedic hymns. It is quite true that the Latin *crēdo* and etymologically connected words in the Celtic languages mean 'to trust, to believe,' but this proves nothing for *śraddhā*; nor does the Avestan *zraz-dā-* always mean the same. The original sense of *Śrad-dhā-* is, of course, 'to put one's heart upon a thing,' which may just as well mean 'to long for' as 'to trust.'

58 The commentary on *Taitt. Br.* iii, 12, 8, 1 explains *kumāra* by *upanayanayogyavayaska*, which is certainly correct. As Naciketas was a Brahman boy he consequently ought to have been about eight years of age (cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 50 sq.)

59 *indriya* originally has a very concrete sense, *viz.*, that of *potentia virilis*; (cf., *e.g.*, *Maitr. S.* IV, 7, 4); later on it also means power of procreation in both sexes. Consequently *nirindriya* when used of a man means *impotens*, when of a woman *sterilis*, 'barren.' To translate *nirindriyâh* by 'deren Sinne befriedigt sind,' as does Professor Sieg (*Festgabe R.v. Garbe*, p. 129) is grammatically and etymologically impossible.

60 Curiously enough I have found no single translator who has understood this passage correctly. Hillebrandt, for example, looked upon the first line of the verse as being wholly senseless, and in his translation simply left it out (*Aus Brahmanas u. Upanisaden* p. 117); and we need not go further into the various interpretations as none of them is satisfactory. We must read, instead of the senseless *anandâ* in the second line, *ânandâ nâma te lokâh*, 'bliss verily are those worlds.' The idea is this: the barren (*nirindriyâ*) cow is the *vaśâ*, the *vacca sterilis*, which is the sacrificial gift (*dakṣiṇâ*) especially apt to be given to the Brahmans. Ample materials concerning this opinion are found in a work by the late Professor Johansson, *Etymologisches u. Wortgeschichtliches* (posthumously edited by the present writer, Upsala, 1927), p. 60 sq. Consequently, the Sacrificer (*Yajamâna*) who gives away such cows goes to heaven, to the realm of bliss (cf. *R.V.* ix, 113, 11: *yátrânandâś ca módâś ca múdaḥ pramúda âsate | kâ'masya yátrâptâh kâ'mâh* etc. I venture to think that in this way the passage becomes wholly sensible. The parallels to the first words quoted by Hume, *Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, p. 341 n. 2, are without any importance.

He said to his father : " Dad, to whom doest thou give me ? " A second time, a third time. He (the father) said to him : " I give thee to Death." [61] (4)

Naciketas : "I arrive[62] as the first of many (men), I arrive in the company of many[63] (people) ; what then hath Yama to be done that now he wants to do through me ? " (5)

Mṛtyu (?) : " Look forward : as (did) the former ones—look backward !—so (do) the later ones ; mortal man ripens like seed, like seed he is born again.[64] " (6)

Naciketas[65] : " Like (Agni) Vaiśvânara the Brahman enters every house as a wayfaring guest. "[66] Him they appease thus : fetch (me) water, thou son of Vivasvân ! (7)

" Hope and expectations, sociability and good fellowship, the reward of sacrifice and good works[67], all sons and cattle—all this the Brahman wrenches from that man of small wit in whose house he dwells not being offered food." (8)[68]

Yama : " Because, O Brahman, for three nights thou hast dwelt fasting in my house, though a worshipful guest—hail to thee, O Brahman, and welfare to me !—therefore choose thou just three boons[69]." (9)

Naciketas : " That Gautama may be at peace in his mind, of happy thoughts, and not worrying about me, O Death, that full of joy he may greet me when let loose by thee, this I choose as the first of three boons[70]." (10)

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61 All the translators have assumed (in accordance with the commentary on the *Taitt. Br.*) that the father utters these words in anger at having been importuned by the seemingly senseless questions of the son. But if we read, as has just been suggested, *ânandâ* instead of *anandâ* in v. 3 the question of the son is not senseless at all, and there is no need for the father to feel any anger. Hillebrandt, *ZDMG.* lxviii, 581, correctly stated that the father does not speak in anger, and Professor Sieg. *l.c.* p. 129 sq. follows him —*Mṛtyu* should be translated by 'Death' (not 'death') ; he is the messenger of Yama according to *AV.* xviii, 2, 27 (cf. the Buddhist idea of the *devadûta*, Morris *JPTS.*, 1885, p. 62).

62 Correctly Böthlingk *SB.*, 1890, p. 130 : *emi* = *âgacchâmi* ; Naciketas apparently announces his arrival in Yama's house.

63 *bahûnâm madhyamaḥ*=*bahûnâm madhye.* There is no discrepancy between these words and the preceding ones. No help towards the interpretation is rendered by Professor Sieg., *l.c.* p. 130.

64 The first half of this verse is not very clear, and it is very uncertain to whom we ought to attribute it. I have hesitatingly suggested Mṛtyu, the messenger of Yama, who has fetched Naciketas and accompanies him to his master's house. Wh. thinks that it is spoken by Naciketas himself, in which he is followed by Hume ; H. thinks of a person accompanying him ; G. of the 'secret voice,' the *(daivî)vâk*, which is, however, only a fancy of the *Taitt. Br.* and its commentary ; B. speaks of a 'bailiff of Yama' which is mainly the same point of view as my own. But it must be admitted that this is all very uncertain.

65 This verse generally is attributed to Yama's bailiff or to the 'Secret Voice.' Both attributions are fanciful and unnecessary. Yama now has arrived on the scene, and the proud Brahman boy announces himself to him.

66 We have got to remember that Agni Vaiśvânara and the Brahman are alike the welcome guests of every human lodging. Thus *gṛhân* does not mean 'a house' ; it is pregnantly plural in sense and means something like 'every house.'

67 *iṣṭâpûrte* certainly cannot be interpreted in the way suggested by Hume, *l.c.* p. 342 n. 5. Cf. *Ait. Br.* viii, 15 : *iṣṭâpûrtaṃ te lokaṃ sukṛtam âyuḥ prajâṃ vṛñjîya*, etc.

68 The contents of this verse exactly correspond to *Taitt. Br.* iii, 11, 8, 3-4, where, in reply to Yama's questions, Naciketas tells him that on the first night he has consumed his offspring, on the second night his cattle, and on the third night his good works.

69 Whitney, *l.c.* p. 94, complains of the metrical disorder of the second half-verse, but his own efforts to repair it are futile. In *c* we have simply to read *suasti* (so already Böhtlingk p. 131) ; in *d* we should apparently read : *tasmât pratitrîn (u) varân vṛṇîṣva* (*u* occurs in 1, 14 ; 2, 1; 4, 9 etc.) All this is fairly simple.

70 This verse has been misunderstood all through ; there is just as little talk of the father being angry with the son here as before. *vîtamanyu* means 'free from worries' just as in *M.Bh.* 1, 6114 etc. The father is, however, in grave doubt and anxiety as to the fate of the son. From these he ought to be liberated, and Naciketas himself set loose by Yama.

Yama : " As of old he will be full of joy[71] ; the son of Uddâlaka Âruṇi has (already) been let loose by me[72]. In peace will he sleep every night, free from worries when having seen[73] thee released from the jaws of Death." (11)

Naciketas : " In the heavenly world there is no fear of any kind, (for) thou art not there, nor does one (there) fear old age[74]. Having overcome both, hunger and thirst, having left sorrow behind one rejoices in the heavenly world." (12)

" Thou, O Death, knowest the (sacrificial) fire leading to heaven ; proclaim it then to me who am longing[75] (to know). Those in the heavenly world partake of immortality. This I choose as my second boon." (13)

Yama : " I proclaim it to thee—and do thou listen carefully to me—being conversant with the fire that leads to heaven, O Naciketas ! Know it as the obtainment of the eternal world and its basis, know it as being deposited in the secret place." (14)

He taught him of that fire which is the beginning of the world, which bricks (are needed) and how many and how (to be laid). And this one (Naciketas) repeated it word after word. Then Death, well pleased, again spoke to him. (15)

[76]To him with a loving mind spoke the great one : " I now grant thee one more boon. This fire shall be (known) by thy name ; and take thou also this multicoloured chain[77]." (16)

" Building three Nâciketa-fires[78], entering into union with three[79], and performing three actions[80] one goes beyond birth and death. Having known and meditated upon (the texts) *brahma jajñânam* and *devam îḍyam*[81] he for eternal time goes to this peace[82]." (17)

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71 Viz., when the son returns to him.

72 This seems the only possible translation. Geldner's translation : " Zurückgekehrt ist der Sohn des Uddâlaka Āruṇi, den ich gehen hiess " is very clever but scarcely possible. Hillebrandt, however, quite correctly, says : " Āruṇi, Sohn des Uddâlaka, ist [hiermit] von mir entlassen." Previous translators, misled by Śaṃkara, have taken *Auddâlaki* to be=*Uddâlaka* which is, of course, impossible. Yama implicitly tells Naciketas that he is already free to go back.

73 *dadṛśvân*, Kern, *S.B.* 1891, p. 86 ; Whitney, *l.c.* p. 94.

74 Böhtlingk (in accordance with Pâṇ. i, 4, 25) would prefer *na jarâyâ bibheti.* The grammar of our text is far from Pâṇinean, but still the instrumental (*jarayâ*) seems scarcely possible.

75 Cf. n. 57 *supra.*

76 Most scholars, as M. Müller *SBE.* XV, 5 n. 1; Whitney, *l.c.* p. 96; Hillebrandt, *l. c.* p. 175; and Sieg, *l. c.* p. 130, consider vv. 16-18 as being a later interpolation on altogether futile reasons. On the contrary they are absolutely necessary in order to understand the text: cf. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* iii, 154 n. 1.

77 The word *sṛṅkâ* occurs here and in 2, 3, but is otherwise unknown in the literature. The explanations are manifold, and differ from each other to a great degree. Śaṃkara apparently knew an old and fairly correct interpretation, which he renders by *śabdavatî ratnamayî mâlâ* 'a rattling chain of jewels' ; but his other explanations (*âkutsitâ gatiḥ karmamayî* and *sṛtiḥ kutsitâ mûḍhajanapravṛttâ*) show us that he was in a hopeless muddle as to the real sense of the word. The Petersburg dictionaries hesitatingly translate it by 'way', while M. Müller, Deussen and others interpret it as meaning 'chain' or 'garland' (Cf. Hume, *l.c.* p. 344). Böhtlingk, Roth, Kern and Garbe all have explanations which are more or less fanciful and unconvincing, while Whitney left the word untranslated. The late Professor Johansson, in an unpublished paper, tried to establish the sense of 'cornucopia', but that idea is unknown to the Hindus. The word simply means, 'garland' or still better 'chain.' It is a chain of gold and jewels which symbolises at once worldly riches and the snare (*pâśa*) of Death. Etymologically it seems closely connected with *sraj-* 'garland.' Professor Sieg., *l.c.* p. 130, following Madhva, has given a fairly accurate interpretation of our passage.

78 *triṇâciketa* (an irregular formation) is difficult and obscure ; but I suppose it means that one should build all the three sacrificial fires (*âhavanîya, gârhapatya,* and *dakṣiṇa*) according to the special rules laid down by Yama to Naciketas. I am unable to follow Sieg here.

79 Śaṃkara (followed by Böhtlingk and Hillebrandt) says that the three mean father, mother, and *guru*, which gives little sense. It possibly means *dharma, artha,* and *kâma*, the three goals of every man's life.

80 Viz., *yajana, adhyayana,* and *dâna* ; but cf. also *Taitt. S.* VI, 3, 10, 5 (Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* iii, 152).

81 Correctly interpreted by Hillebrandt (and, though not so well, by Geldner and vaguely suggested already by Whitney p. 95). For *brahma jajñânam* see *AV.* iv, i, 1 sq., while *devam îḍyam* alludes to some unidentified Agni-hymn. This, like the preceding verses, alludes to Agni as the basis of the universe and identified with *brahman-âtman.*

82 *Śânti* is nothing but the Buddhist *nirvâṇa* and, of course, also *brahma.*

" He who, building the Nâciketa-fires and having got to know this triad, who thus knowing builds the Nâciketa, pushes forth in front of him the snares of death and, having left sorrow behind, rejoices in the heavenly world.[83] (18)

" This fire, O Naciketas, leading to heaven is thine, thou hast chosen it by thy second wish. This fire men will proclaim [as thine].[84] Choose thee now a third[85] boon, O Naciketas." (19)

Naciketas : " This is the doubt concerning the dead man : some say ' he exists,' others say ' he exists not.' This I should want to know through thy instruction. This is the third of (my)[86] wishes." (20)

Yama : " On this point even the gods doubted at one time ; this is not easy to understand; it is a subtle question. Choose another boon, O Naciketas, trouble me not, let me off here[87]." (21)

Naciketas : " Verily, on this point even the gods doubted, and thou, O Death, hast said that it is not easy to understand. Nor can one obtain another declarer of this like thee ; nor is there any other boon equal to this one[88]." (22)

Yama : " Choose thou sons and grandsons who live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants and gold, horses ; choose thou a great stretch of land and live as many autumns as thou desirest[89]. (23)

" If thou deemest this boon equal to that one[90] choose then riches and a long life. Be thou, O Naciketas, prosperous on (thy) great land[91]. I make thee a partaker of worldly pleasures.[92] (24)

" All the (sexual) pleasures that are not easily obtainable in the world of men, those pleasures ask for at will. Look ! these lovely girls[93] with their chariots[94] and instruments

83 This verse is clumsy and somewhat obscure. With the *mṛtyupâśâḥ* mentioned here cf. the *sṛṅkâ* in v. 16.

84 *tavaiva* correctly abolished by Böhtlingk.

85 *tṛtîyam*, like *dvitîyena*, suits the metre badly. Forms like **dvitya* and **tṛtya* are not acknowledged as existing in Sanskrit, but must undoubtedly have existed because of the corresponding *Prâkṛt* formations. One might suggest that we ought to read here *dvityena* and *tṛtyam* ; but this is, of course, very uncertain.

86 We may probably read : *varâṇâm eṣa (me) varas tṛtîyaḥ.*

87 Böhtlingk, *l.c.* p. 135, proposes to read *me* instead of *mâ*, which is certainly unnecessary. Geldner reads *na hi suvijñeyo ' ṇur eṣa dharmah,* which is also unnecessary.

88 Whitney wants to omit *yad* in the first line, and he is probably right. Hillebrandt translates this verse in a somewhat different way, which is quite possible but scarcely needed.

89 Possibly without *ca* and with *yâvad iccheḥ* because of the metre. A later editor who knew *yâvat* only with the indicative might easily have altered it into *yâvad icchasi.*

90 Thus, correctly, Geldner.

91 M. Müller, Böhtlingk, Whitney, Deussen and Geldner wrongly adopt a *varia lectio, mahân bhûmau.* Only Hillebrandt correctly retains *mahâbhûmau = bhûmer mahaty ayatane* (cf. v. 23). Already Śaṃkara quite correctly explains : *mahatyâm bhûmau râjâ tvam bhava.*

92 Hillebrandt, *l.c.*, p. 175, considers this verse to be an interpolation, but on insufficient grounds ; for, if in Indian literature we should look upon repetitions in general as interpolations, how would, *e.g.*, the Pâli canon fare ? Professor Sieg. again, *l.c.*, p. 131, wants to keep 24*a* (with slight alterations) + *d* and join this line with the first line of 25 into one Triṣṭubh. This does not give bad sense, but the alteration is far too violent and contravenes every principle of text-criticism.

93 Geldner, *l.c.*, p. 204, calls them Apsaras (the same idea as already held by Weber, *Ind. Stud*, ii, 204). But how do those heavenly beings come into the world of Yama ? Cf. also Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 63.

94 Whitney, *l.c.*, p. 97, thinks *sarathâḥ* to be wholly out of place, but I am unable to share that opinion. Beautiful girls in cars and accompanied by music are certainly not altogether unknown in Indian literature, and besides *vâhâḥ* in v. 26 prove it to be fairly correct. But I admit that the metre is out of order, though I do not know how to mend it. One might try to read *sasurathâḥ* if *suratha* could mean something like 'a good charioteer' ; but that is not very convincing.

—such ones, forsooth, are not obtainable by human beings. I [95] bestow them (upon thee); do thou play with them[96]! But, O Naciketas, ask not concerning dying." (25)

Naciketas: "Those, O God of Death, are ephemeral things[97] which make blunt the keenness of all the senses. And is not all life very short? To *thee* belong the chariots, to thee dance [98] and song.[99] (26)

"Man cannot be satisfied by wealth only. Shall we get (real) wealth even if we have asked thee?[100] We shall live as long as thou shalt order. But this boon is just the one to be chosen by me. (27)

"What mortal man, himself growing old and well knowing his inferior position[101], having noted the undecaying age[101] of the immortals, and meditating upon the illusions[102] of beauty and sexual pleasure, could delight in an over-long life? (28)

"That as to which people doubt, O Death, what happens at the great farewell[103] tell us now. This wish goes deep into the secret; Naciketas chooses none but this one." (29)

Vallî II.

Yama: "One thing is spiritual welfare (*śreyas*), another thing is earthly pleasure (*preyas*); both of them, though of different aim, bind a man. Well (is it) with him who chooses spiritual welfare; he who chooses earthly pleasure misses his aim.[104] (1)

"Spiritual welfare and earthly pleasure alike come to man; the wise (man) takes good note of them and makes his choice. Verily, the wise man prefers spiritual welfare to earthly pleasure, but the dullard prefers earthly pleasure to (spiritual) well-being[105]. (2)

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95 *Mat* is metrically superfluous, but cannot well be left out.

96 *Paricârayasva* has been correctly explained by Kern, *S.B.*, 1891, p. 86, with the aid of parallels from Buddhist literature. It means much more than 'have thyself attended with them' (Wh.) or 'by these be waited on' (Hume).

97 *Śvobhâvâ* retained by Böhtlingk and Geldner, seems to me impossible in this passage, though the word occurs in Kâtyâyana's *Śrauta S.* xii, 6, 28. Geldner's translation: *die neuen Morgen, o Tod, machen alt*, etc., is masterly, but I fail to see how *śvobhâvâ* could really mean that. Thus I have reluctantly followed Whitney, Hillebrandt and the Poona ed. in reading *śvo'bhâvâ*.

98 Poley mentions a *v. l. nṛttagîte.*

99 All the translators seem to take these words to mean something like: 'thine be the vehicles, thine be dance and song!'. But that is scarcely the sense. Naciketas means that all this *vanitas vanitatum* belongs to the realm of the senses, the unreal world over which rules the God of Death (*Antaka or Mṛtyu*).

100 I should prefer to read *aprâkṣma* instead of *adrâkṣma*. This and the following verse are the answer to Yama's offer in v. 24 *a-b*.

101 Whitney seems to be the only translator who has recognised the real sense of this difficult verse. Though *ajîryatâ* is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον it can well be kept and makes good sense, though perhaps *ajûryatâ*, as suggested by Wh. would be easier. The absurd-looking *kvadhaḥsthaḥ* (read *kuv°*) is a spontaneous formation from *ku* + *adhaḥstha* (Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ii, 196, n. adopts the *v.l. adhasthaḥ* with disappearance of the Visarga, but that is scarcely necessary, cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i, 342 sq.) The *v.l. kva tadâsthaḥ* reported by Śaṃkara and adopted by Professor Geldner seems futile.

102 Kern, *S.B.* 1891, p. 86, takes *varṇa* to be = *rûpa*, which seems correct. We must, however, read *°pramohân* instead of *°pramodân*.

103 *Sâmparâya* = *mokṣa* (thus, correctly, Râghavendra followed by Professor Geldner).

104 In the first line *te* (Kern) and in the second *bhavati* should be rejected.

105 Curiously enough only Roth, *S.B.* 1891, p. 88, has seen the obvious parallelism which forces us to take *yogakṣema* as = *śreyas*. Professor Geldner unnecessarily adopts the inferior *v.l. yogakṣemân*. In this same line Whitney correctly rejected (*a*)*bhi* before *preyaso*.

"Thou, O Naciketas, hast meditated upon the lovely and lovely-looking pleasures and hast let them go[106]. Nor even hast thou accepted this chain of wealth in which many people get tied up.[107] (3)

"Far away from each other, differing entirely are ignorance and that which is known as knowledge[108]. Naciketas seems to me desirous of knowledge; the many (sexual) pleasures do not badly hurt thee[109]. (4)

"Those who are living in ignorance, thinking themselves wise, believing themselves to be very learned[110], those fools run to and fro like blind men led by a blind one.[111] (5).

"The great transition is unintelligible to the dull-witted, the heedless fellow befooled by the illusion of great wealth. 'This world exists but not the other one,' thus believing he from time to time falls into my hands. (6)

"Many do not even attain to hearing him, many if they heard him would not understand him : a wonder is a clever preacher of this, (a wonder) the attainer, a wonder the knower instructed by the clever one[112]. (7)

"Taught by an incompetent person this one[113] remains difficult to understand, even when frequently meditated upon. And there is no way to him unless he be taught by another, for he is inconceivably more subtle than the measure of an atom. (8)

"This doctrine, which thou hast obtained, cannot be obtained by pure speculation : it is easy to understand when taught by another, O my darling. Upon my word, thou art of true perseverance ! May I not[114] get another questioner like thee, O Naciketas ! (9)

"I for one know that the treasure (of good works) is something perishable ; not by unreal things can that real one[115] be obtained. Thus I built the Nâciketa-fire, with perishable materials I obtained the imperishable[116] (10)

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106 Cf. *abhidhyâyan varṇaratipramohân* (cf. n. 102 *supra*) in 1, 28 ; *atyasrâkṣîḥ* again in 2, 11.

107 The false reading *majjanti*, which was adopted by Śaṃkara, has obscured the real sense of *sṛṅkâ* in this verse. We should read *sajjanti* and then everything tallies beautifully. Long after I had found this out I noticed to my great pleasure that Professor Geldner, *l.c.*, p. 205 n. 6, has already proposed this emendation. This seems to me all the more admirable because Prof. Geldner is apparently in the dark as to the real meaning of *sṛṅkâ*.

108 Read probably *avidyâ yâ(yâ)ca vidyeti jñâtâ* ; Böhtlingk's *jñâte* is quite unnecessary.

109 *Lolupante*, according to Pâṇ. iii, 1, 24, should be *lolupyante*, a slight alteration. But we have already observed more than once that the text is not Pâṇinean in its grammar. I can see no obstacle to translating *lolup(y)ante* as I have done above, and in that case the sense fits very well.

110 Perhaps we should read *paṇḍitammanyamânâḥ* with Râghavendra.

111 The *variæ lectiones* in *Maitr. Up.* vii, 9 and in *Muṇḍ. Up.* ii, 8 are of no value. This is perhaps the first time that we meet with the well-known *andhaparampará* of the Sâṃkhya.

112 This verse seems slightly out of order, metrically as well as in meaning ; but Whitney's suggestion *kuśalo'nuśiṣṭaḥ* scarcely helps us.

113 Viz., the Âtman.

114 All the translators take *no* to be = *naḥ* and render the words : 'may there be for us, N., a questioner like thee,' which according to my opinion entirely misses the sense of the passage. Yama never liked to give his knowledge away ; he tries as far as possible to withhold it. *bata* expresses astonishment or even slight anger, and *no* is = *na u*, an emphatic *na*. Yama wishes that he may never meet another man as persevering in his questions as Naciketas.

115 Viz., Brahman-Âtman.

116 Only Professor Geldner (and possibly Böhtlingk) has correctly attributed this verse to Yama. Whitney and Hillebrandt think of Naciketas as the speaker, and Professor Sieg, *l.c.* p. 131, attributes it to the illusory *prastar* of the preceding verse. Yama, who has hitherto only given introductory phrases, now for the last time tries to make his hearer be content with his knowledge of the Nâciketa-fire—but, as he knows himself, without success.

" Obtainment of carnal desire[117], the foundation of the living world, the eternity of sacrifice, the other shore of fearlessness . . . .
the firm foundation hast thou, O Naciketas, wise in thy firmness let go.[118] (11)

" The wise man who, by concentrating all his thought on the Âtman, has understood him who is hard to see, who has entered the dark space, the concealed one, living in the depth, the old one to be (the only) god leaves joy and grief behind. (12)

" When mortal man has heard and fully understood this, when he has flung away *dharma*[119] and arrived at this atom-like one (*viz.*, Âtman) then he rejoices, having obtained a reason for rejoicing. The house to me seems wide-open, O Naciketas![120] " (13)

Naciketas : "Whatever thou seest which is neither good nor bad, neither done nor not done, neither past nor to be, that proclaim to me." (14)

Yama : " The word which all the Vedas repeat and which[121] all the penances proclaim, to obtain which they lead a student's holy life, that word will I tell thee in brief : *Om*, thus is it. (15)

" This (eternal) syllable,[122] forsooth, is Brahman, this (eternal) syllable is the very highest, he who has come to know this (eternal) syllable obtains whatever he wishes. (16)

" This is the very best support, this is the very highest support. He who has come to know this support enjoys bliss in the Brahman-world. (17)

" The seer[123] is neither born nor does he die ; he comes from nowhere, nor did he become anyone else. Unborn, everlasting, eternal is the ancient one. He is not slain if the body be slain.[124] (18)

" If the slayer thinks that he slays, and if the slain believes himself to be slain, then both these do not know : he[125] neither slays nor is he slain.[126] (19)

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117 Kern, *S.B.* 1891, p. 88, reads *kâmasyâvâptim.*

118 This verse is perhaps the most obscure one of all the dark passages in our text, and all previous translators differ more or less from each other without being able to render satisfactorily the sense of the two lines. Personally I am first of all absolutely unable to translate the words *stomamahadurugâyam*, which must needs be corrupt ; already Śaṃkara apparently understood nothing of them. Hillebrandt, *l. c.* p. 121, is the one who has tried a real translation when he renders it : *das durch Stomas mächtige Urugâyalied*— but what does that mean ? Professor Sieg, *l.c.* p. 132, has tried a rearrangement of the construction, but without obtaining any intelligible meaning. He is, however, right in translating *kratu* by *Opferwerk* ; *krator ânantyam* (cf. Pâṇ. V, 3, 24) means either 'sacrifice lasting for an eternal time,' or rather 'eternal life won by sacrifice.' Böhtlingk is also right in rejecting the unnecessary *dṛṣṭvâ*, which was certainly put in by a commentator who understood nothing of the verse. The only possible clue to an explanation seems to me to be this : in 1, 14 (*supra*) Yama calls the Nâciketa-fire *anantalokâptim atho pratiṣṭhâm.* This must be the same in this passage too. What Naciketas has let go is the fire which Yama has taught him, and which here he praises in most exalted language. Naciketas wants something still higher, viz. the knowledge of the fate of the liberated (*mukta*) after death, the solution of the riddle of the Âtman. In his persistence he is wise and firm.

119 With Böhtlingk and Geldner we ought no doubt to read *dharmam ;* but the expression *pravṛhya dharmam* is puzzling and not solved by the translations known to me— 'flung away' (so also Whitney) is only a weak attempt to render it.

120 The last words are obscure and possibly corrupt ; I follow Professor Geldner in reading *naciketaḥ sammanye.*

121 Read *tapâṃsi sarvâṇi ca yad vadanti* with Kern, *SB.*, 1891, p. 86. With this verse cf. *Bhagavadgîtâ*, viii, 11, which gives exactly the same ideas in somewhat different words.

122 Note the double sense of *akṣara.* As being the expiration of Brahman, *Om*, of course, is eternal.

123 *Vipaścit* = *Âtman.*

124 Cf. *Bhagavadgîtâ* ii, 20 ; but there the words *nâyam bhûtvâ bhavitâ vâ na bhûyaḥ* are no immediate paraphrase of the expression *nâyaṃ kutaścin na babhûva kaścit* of our text.

125 Viz., the Âtman.

126 Professor Sieg, *l.c.* p. 132, suggests that this verse is only a misrepresentation of Bhagavadgîtâ ii, 19 : *Ya enaṃ vetti hantâraṃ yaś cainam manyate hatam | ubhau tau na vijânîto nâyaṃ hanti na hanyate,* and that not even Professor Geldner's clever interpretation can save it. This is unintelligible to me. The *Gîtâ* verse is, of course, younger, and both of them give absolutely the same sense.

"More subtle than the atom, greater even than the greatest, this Âtman abides in the secret place of this living being. Not sacrificing[127], free from grief, one sees the greatness of the Âtman through the grace of the Creator[128] (20)

"Sitting he walks far away, lying down he goes everywhere. Who but myself deserves to know that god who is joy and not-joy[129] ? (21)

"Bodiless in the bodies, settled amongst the unsettled, great, all-pervading—the wise man knowing Âtman as such does not come to grief. (22)

"This Âtman cannot be understood by teaching[130], not by wisdom, nor by extensive learning. He is understood by whom[131] he chooses ; this Âtman reveals his own person.[132] (23)

"He who does not desist from bad conduct, who is not at peace nor self-concentrated nor peaceful in his mind will not reach him by sole knowledge. (24)

"To whom clergy and nobility are only a rice-porridge and Death only the sauce—who does really know where he is ? " [133] (25)

Vallî III.

"Those both, who in the world of good actions[134] drink righteousness and who have gone into the place of secrecy in the most distant quarter, the Brahman-knowers, the *pañcâgni*-knowers,[135] the builders of three Nâciketa-fires call Shadow and Light.[136] (1)

["May we bring forth the Nâciketa-fire which is a bridge to the sacrificers, the eternal, highest Brahman, fearlessness to those who want to cross to the other side. (2)] [137]

"Know that the Âtman is the passenger and the body the chariot itself ; know also that the intellect is the charioteer and the mind is the rein. (3)

"The senses they call the horses, and the objects their goals ; the wise call Âtman joined by the senses and the mind the enjoyer.[138] (4)

"He who is without understanding and with a mind continuously unyoked, his senses are uncontrolled like the vicious steeds of a charioteer. (5)

"But he who possesses understanding, whose mind is continuously yoked, his senses are duly controlled like the brave steeds of a charioteer. (6)

[127] *Akratuḥ*, cf. *kratu* in 2, 11 *supra*.

[128] *Dhâtuprasâdât* is very doubtful. I have followed the *v. l. dhâtuḥ prasâdât* (thus Wh., H. and G.). This verse occurs in *Taitt. Âr.* X, 10, 1 and *Svet. Up.* iii, 20, with slight variants, which do not help us.

[129] Thus already Śaṃkara and nowadays Hillebrandt and Geldner. Other translations are not correct.

[130] This sounds strange when compared with vv. 7-9 above.

[131] *tena* should be abolished ; it was added by someone who did not understand the construction *labhyas tasya*.

[132] The last words have been thoroughly misunderstood by all except by Geldner and Hillebrandt.

[133] Professor Sieg, *l.c.* p. 132, translates *yasya* by *in Vergleich zu welchem*, which seems scarcely possible and gives no better meaning. S., like Śaṃkara and others, reads *odanah*.

[134] In spite of Śaṃkara, *svakṛtasya* is out of reckoning ; we must read *sukṛtasya*.

[135] *I.e.*, those who know the doctrine of the five fires as expounded in *Chând Up.* V, 4 *sq.* (thus, correctly, Professor Geldner), not those who maintain five sacrificial fires.

[136] Âtman and Brahman. But as these two are original we need not adopt the somewhat artificial interpretation of the first line suggested by Professor Geldner.

[137] Though I do not like to assume interpolations without the very strongest reasons, I still think that this verse must be rejected. It is without meaning here and is chiefly made up from materials takenfrom 2, 11and 16. The suggestion of Professor Geldner, that we should read *Naciketam* and identify this with *Naciketasam*, is, unfortunately, impossible.

[138] °*yuktam* in the second line seems impossible ; Böhtlingk alters it into °*yuktaḥ* which is, however, wrong. We must then read °*yukto*. The meaning, however, is not doubtful.

"He who is without understanding, thoughtless, always impure, he does not arrive at that place, he comes into the circle of metempsychosis. (7)

"But he who possesses understanding, full of thoughts, ever pure, he arrives at that place from whence he is not born again. (8)

"That man whose charioteer is understanding and whose rein is mind, he arrives at the goal of the road—that is Viṣṇu's highest abode.[139] (9)

"Higher than the senses are the objects, higher than the objects is mind; higher than mind is intellect, but higher than intellect is the great Âtman. (10)

"Higher than the great one is the unmanifested, higher than the unmanifested is the Spirit[140]; there is nothing whatsoever beyond that Spirit, he is the goal, he is the highest resort. (11)

"This Âtman, hidden in all living beings, does not show himself. But he is seen by subtle thinkers by means of the most pointed, subtle intellect. (12)

"The wise man should restrain voice and mind, he should restrain it within that Self which is knowledge; that again within the great Self [141]; and that he should restrain within the peaceful Self. (13)

"Stand ye up! Awake ye[142]! Having obtained boons[143] give ye attention! The razor's edge is whetted, difficult to traverse[144]; this the seers call the dangerous part of the way. (14) [145]

"Having meditated upon the soundless, touchless, formless, unalterable, the eternally[146] tasteless and scentless, the one without beginning or end, the one higher than the great, the real one, he is liberated from the jaws of Death.[147] (15)

["The wise man who recites and listens to this ancient Nâciketa-episode proclaimed by Death enjoys bliss in the Brahman-world. (16)

"When one recites in an assembly of Brahmans this highest secret or (recites it) with devotion at a sacrifice to the ancestors it makes him fit for eternal life." (17)] [148]

(*To be continued.*)

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139 *Viṣṇoḥ paramam padam* is the heaven of light on the top of the universe where is the well of *amṛta* (cf. *R.V.* I, 154, 5; *Víṣṇoḥ padé paramé mádhva útsaḥ*) and the abode of the blessed. That is, according to a later idea, the Brahmaloka (as in our text, cf. 2, 17; *brahmaloke mahîyate*) and the abode of the *muktas* with the Jains.

140 *Puruṣa* (=Brahman).

141 Probably Böhtlingk is right in considering *niyacchet* to be an interpolation.

142 The correct form, according to Böhtlingk, would be *jâgṛta* (found in one MS.); but how it could be four-syllabic baffles me. Read perhaps: *uttiṣṭhata* [*ca*] *jâgṛta*.

143 Śaṃkara: *varân prakṛṣṭâcâryân*, which is certainly wrong.

144 The razor's edge (*kṣurasya dhârâ*) is an old symbol fetched from the Indo-Iranian ideas of the way into the other world. It is peculiarly clear in Zoroastrian eschatology, but traces of it are found also in India.

145 This verse seems entirely out of connection with its surroundings.

146 Thus, correctly, Whitney, differing from the other translators.

147 Cf. 1, 11 *supra* (*mṛtyumukhât pramuktam*).

148 These two verses, forming a *Śravaṇaphala* in the epic style, are apparently a late addition. They do not in the slightest degree prove that the original Upaniṣad was at an end here.

A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATER PRATIHÂRAS.

BY NIHARRANJAN RAY, M.A.

THE career of Mahendrapâla, one of the ablest, most powerful and best remembered of the Pratihâra kings of Kanauj, came to an end in the last years of the first decade of the tenth century A.D. Indeed, the last known date of his reign is 964 V.S., which corresponds to A.D. 907-8.[1] He had at least two queens to whom we are introduced by the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahârâja Vinâyakapâla.[2] Queen Dehanâgâdevî gave her king Mahendrapâla one son, the illustrious Mahârâja Bhojadeva (II) and queen Mahîdevîdevî (Mahâ according to the Pratâbgarh inscription[3]) gave another, the illustrious Mahârâja Vinâyakapâladeva. The Aṣni inscription of V.S. 974[4] mentions one *Mahiṣapâladeva* (Mahindapâla as Kielhorn reads it) with his son Mahîpâla as Mahârâjâdhirâjas. Mahiṣa or Mahindapâla has been identified with Pratihâra Mahendrapâla, and so we are introduced to a third son of this monarch, namely Mahîpâla. A passage in Râjaśekhara's *Prachaṇḍa Pâṇḍava* seems to support the information obtained from the Âṣni inscription.[5] From this passage we come to know that the play was staged before an assemblage of guests who were invited by Mahîpâla, born of the lineage of Raghu, son of Nirbhayanarendra, Lord of Âryavarta. The identification of this Nirbhayanarendra with Mahendrapâla Pratihâra of Kanauj is also an accepted conclusion, so that there remains very little doubt as to Mahîpâla's being a third son of Mahendrapâladeva.

Dr. Kielhorn, while editing the Khajurâho inscription of the Chandela king Yaśovarman, V.S. 1011=953-54 A.D.,[6] and the Sîyadonî stone inscription, V.S. 1005 = 948-49 A.D.[7], came of the opinion that the Hayapati Devapâla, son of Herambapâla of Yaśovarman's inscription is identical with the Paramabhattâraka Mahârâjadhirâja Parameśwara the illustrious Devapâla, son of Kṣitipâla of the Sîyadonî inscription. Kṣitipâla and Herambapâla must thus naturally have been the one and the same person. And as Kṣiti and Mahî were synonymous. it was easy to conclude that Mahîpâla, Kṣitipâla and Herambapâla were all identical. While reconsidering the dates and the genealogical data of the Dighwâ Dubauli Plate of Mahendrapâla and Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of Vinâyakapâla, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar pointed out that, Heramba and Vinâyaka being synonymous, Herambapâla should be identified with Vinâyakapâla.[8] Kielhorn's chronology, therefore, stood thus :—

Dehanâgâdevî = Mahendrapâla = Mahîdevîdevî.

Bhojadeva (II)	Mahîpâla
	(Kielhorn) { *alias* Kṣitipâla
	(Kielhorn) { *alias* Herambapâla } (Bhandarkar).
	alias Vinâyakapâla } (Bhandarkar).

After the discovery of the Pratâbgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapâladeva (II) of Mahodaya, V.S. 1003=945-46 A.D., Pandit G. H. Ojhâ reconsidered the genealogical arrangement. He accepted the identification of Mahîpâla and Kṣitipâla, but rejected that of Vinâyakapâla and Herambapâla on the grounds (1) that Hayapati Devapâla could not be the same as Devapâla of Mahodaya ' on the casual mention of the former in an inscription

[1] Sîyadonî Inscriptions, line 4, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 162 ff., Kielhorn.

[2] Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of Vinâyakapâla, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 140. Fleet.

[3] Prâtabgarh Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, p. 178. G. H. Ojha.

[4] The Aṣni Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 170-71.

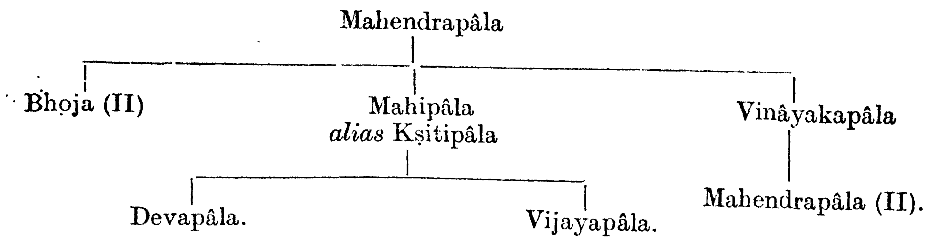
[5] The Date of Poet Râjasekhara, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, p. 177. Fleet.

[6] Khâjurâho Inscription of Yaśovarman, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 172. Kielhorn.

[7] *Op. cit.* For the views of Kielhorn, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 122 ff. and p. 162 ff.

[8] *Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. XXI, pp. 406-7. Bhandarkar.

of a king of a dynasty other than his own;' (2) that Hayapati was never the recognised appellation of any of the Pratihâra kings; and (3) that the dates of Mahipâla and Vinâyakapâla did not overlap. According to his view the genealogy stands like this.[9]



Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who last contributed on the subject, strengthened the arguments of Pandit Ojhâ by adducing further reasons in his favour.[10] But even admitting the force of Pandit Ojhâ's arguments, Dr. Majumdar could not accept the chronological arrangement proposed by the Pandit, but reverted back to the arrangement of Prof. Kielhorn. He based his conclusion on the fact that there was no reference to Mahîpâla in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of Vinâyakapâla, whereas one brother Bhoja (II) as well as his two predecessors with their titles were mentioned. According to him, it was 'difficult to explain the omission of Mahîpâla's name if he had really been a separate king.'

There were thus two distinct arrangements as regards the chronology of the later Pratihâras, and the writer of this note thinks that there is still the possibility of a third one.

First, as to Kielhorn's identification of Hayapati Devapâla with Devapâla, son of Kṣitipâla, Pandit Ojhâ and Dr. Majumdar's objections certainly carry weight and they are sufficient to set the identifications aside.

Secondly, the identifications of Herambapâla and Vinâyakapâla cannot also be accepted for the only reason that Heramba is synonymous with Vinâyaka. Whether the Khajurâho inscription was put up after the death of Yaśovarman or during his lifetime, it is certain that not only Yaśovarman but also his son Dhangadeva continued to acknowledge the paramount supremacy of Vinâyakapâla; for in the end of the inscription 'Vinâyakapâladeve pâlayati Vasudhâm' is expressly mentioned. Agreeing that it was put up by Dhanga after the death of his father, we should accept that Dhanga did not resent the supremacy of Vinâyakapâladeva. But if we accept this, it is difficult to reconcile why, in the same inscription, Yaśovarman or Dhanga should in one place (verse 43) refer to their paramount lord as Herambapâla and in another (concluding verse) as Vinâyakapâladeva. If Herambapâla and Vinâyakapâla had been the same person such a different naming would have been simply unnecessary; in fact, the writer as well as the master of the inscription did really mean two individual persons in the two names. This, I think, should raise serious objection to the identification of Vinâyakapâla with Herambapâla, apart from the arguments already put forward by Pandit Ojhâ.

The identification of Kṣitipâla with Mahîpâla has been universally accepted and unless positive proof to annul the identification be forthcoming we have no reasons to reject it.

The identification of Mahîpâla with Vinâyakapâla stands on the validity of the identification of Mahîpâla=Kṣitipâla with Herambapâla. But Pandit Ojhâ has shown that Kṣitipâla and therefore Mahîpâla cannot be identical with Herambapâla. So the identification of Mahîpâla and Vinâyakapâla must naturally fall to the ground. But Dr. Majumdar stands for accepting the identification in view of the reason already cited. But he himself admits that 'there are many records in which no mention is made of the royal brothers intervening between the reigning king and his father.' Apart from this and apart also from the possibility of internal dissension between Mahîpâla and Vinâyakapâla, Dr. Majumdar's

9 *Op. cit.* Pratabgarh Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, pp. 176 ff. Ojha.

10 *J. of the Dept. of Letters*, Cal. University, vol. X, pp. 60-62. Majumdar.

objection to the separate individuality of the two kings is not convincing. Even accepting his objection to be tenable, the view that is going to be presented here would accommodate his objection too.

Pandit Ojhâ and Dr. Majumdar have shown that the dates of Mahîpâla and Vinâyakapâla do not overlap. All the earlier records, at least upto 917-18, systematically refer to Mahîpâla, and the mention of Vinâyakapâla is made for the first time not earlier than 931 A.D. The last known date of Mahîpâla's father, Mahendrapâladeva, is 908 A.D. ascertained from the Sîyadonî inscription. Bhoja (II) must, therefore, have flourished between 908 and 914 A.D. It is noteworthy that except in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of Vinâyakapâla, for once and for all, Bhoja is nowhere mentioned as the son of Mahendrapâla or brother of Vinâyakapâla or as king of Kanauj, whereas Mahîpâla is mentioned at least in two records apart from his mention by Râjaśekhara. Nor has Bhoja left us any record to his credit or any definite date of his reign. Is it likely that Bhoja (II) and Mahîpâla were identical, so that Mahîpâla Bhoja begotten on Dehanâgâdevî reigned between 908 and 931 A.D., the earliest known date of Vinâyakapâladeva ? The identification seems to be plausible, and there is at least one reason for this identification apart from the facts noted above.

We know that Bhoja is, like Vikramâditya, a mere title only and not a name ; and kings having such titles came to be more popularly known by their titles than by their names. Such was the case with Chandragupta, who came to be more known by his title of Vikramâditya. In the dynasty of the Pratihâras, too, there was Bhoja (I) whose original name was probably Mihira, but he came to be more popularly known as Bhoja. So, it seems, was the case with Bhoja (II), the grandson of Bhoja (I) for whom it was all the more natural to assume the title of his grandfather. It seems that his original name was Mahîpâla, by which he has been mentioned in the records, but the grant of his brother Vinâyakapâladeva has introduced him with his title only, *i.e.*, Bhoja. The writer of this note would, therefore, like to identify Mahîpâla (of date 914 and 917 A.D.) with Bhoja (II), son of Mahendrapâla. And even if this identification be accepted, the chronology of the later Pratihâras would not differ in any very considerable degree from what is at present known. But besides this identification, there are other things which, when considered, would greatly modify the existing genealogical and chronological arrangement of these kings.

We have seen that the last known date of Mahîpâla Bhoja (II) *alias* Kṣitipâla is 917 A.D.[11] and the earliest known date of Vinâyakapâla is 931 A.D. (obtained from copper plate inscription).[12] For Vinâyakapâla we have also another date from the stone inscription of Dhanga of the year V.S. 1011, ' while the illustrious Vinâyakapâladeva is protecting the earth.'[13] My attention to this date was drawn by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. The date 1011 V.S. corresponds to 953–54 A.D. It had hitherto been accepted that Vinâyakapâladeva of the copperplate inscription of date 931 A.D. was identical with the king of the same name of the stone inscription of date 953–54 A.D. But this does not seem to have been really the case.

For, in the first place we are introduced by the Pratâbgarh inscription of V.S. 1003= 945-46 A.D. to Mahendrapâla (II), son of Vinâyakapâla. Now, if Mahendrapâla's father Vinâyakapâla had been reigning in 953-54 A.D., how can the son (*i.e.*, Mahendrapâla) himself be reigning in 945-46 A.D. ? It seems, therefore, that the two Vinâyakapâlas are not identical and that Mahendrapâla, the son of Vinâyakapâla had later on been succeeded by another Vinâyakapâla. But this second Vinâyakapâla was certainly not the immediate successor.

For, between Vinâyakapâla of date 931 A.D. and Vinâyakapâla of date 953-54 A.D., there is, besides Mahendrapâla (II), another king, namely Devapâla of date 1005 V.S=947-48

11 Asni Inscription, *op. cit.*

12 B. A. S. grant of Vinâyakapâla, *op. cit.*

13 Khajurâho Inscription, *op. cit.*

A.D., son of Kṣitipâla, *alias* Mahîpâla, *alias* Bhoja (II) of the Sîyadonî inscription. We thus see that Vinâyakapâla (I) of date 931 A.D. was followed by his son Mahendrapâla (II) of date 946 A.D.; Mahendrapâla (II) was followed by Devapâla of date 947-48 A.D. and Devapâla by Vinâyakapâla (II) of date 953-54 A.D.

Here we are introduced to another Gurjara-Pratihâra king by the Byânâ Utkha Mandir inscription of Chitralêkhâ, noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerjee in the *Pro. Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1919.[14] The inscription, to which my attention was drawn by Prof. Bhandarkar, was incised in the month of Mâgh, V.S. 1012=957-58 A.D., and records the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by a queen named Chitralekhâ during the reign of an emperor Mahârâjâdhirâja Mahîpâla. Mr. R. D. Banerjee has shown that this Mahârâjâdhirâja Mahîpâla was certainly a later Pratihâra king and that he must have come after Devapâla of date 947-48 A.D. As Vinâyakapâla of date 953-54 A.D., is earlier than this Mahîpâla (whom it is convenient to designate as Mahîpâla II) of date 957-58 A.D. we may assume that Devapâla was succeeded by Vinâyakapâla (II) and Vinâyakapâla (II) by Mahîpâla (II).

The Râjor-gaḍh inscription of Mathanadeva of date 960 A.D.[15] introduces us to a Pratihâra king named Vijayapâla, who is said to have meditated at the feet of an emperor called Kṣitipâla. Whether this Kṣitipâla had been the same as the father of Devapâla of the Sîyadonî inscription (*alias* Mahîpâla, *alias* Bhoja II) or whether Kṣitipâla was, as is probable, a synonym and only another name of Mahîpâla (II) of the Byânâ inscription of Chitralêkhâ, it is difficult at present to ascertain. As the latter one is highly probable, there is also no strong ground against the former assumption, for the son of the father who had been reigning in 917 A.D. might well have reigned in 960 A.D.

Vijayapâla was probably succeeded by Râjyapâla and Râjyapâla by Trilochanapâla, for all these three kings are said to have reigned in succession in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of Trilochanapâla of date 1027 A.D.[16]

It is true that the mutual relations of these kings cannot definitely be ascertained, but the order of succession, as given below, seems to be vouchsafed by the respective dates assigned to them.

To make a possible and convenient suggestion, it is probable that the 5th king Vinâyakapâla was the son of the 3rd king Mahendrapâla (II), for it was natural for him to take the name of his grandfather, as had so often been the case in ancient Indian royal dynasties. In the same way, it is also probable that the 6th king Mahîpâla (II) was the son of the 4th king Devapâla, whose father was again Mahîpâla (I). And as Mahîpâla (I) had another name, Kṣitipâla, so also Mahîpâla (II) might possibly have another name (like his grandfather), namely Kṣitipâla, who according to Mathanadeva's inscription was the immediate predecessor and probably the father of Vijayapâla.

According to the arrangement made below we have four kings, Nos. 3-6, *i.e.*, from Mahendrapâla (II) to Mahîpâla (II) reigning in succession within the short span of less than ten years *i.e.*, from 945-46 to 954-55 A.D. But such instances are not at all rare in history,[17] and there is nothing to be surprised at in this, especially when we remember that with Mahîpâla (I) *alias* Bhoja (II) the glorious days of the Pratihâra empire were gone, and the disruption had begun. Nearer home feudatories were daily declaring independence and striking their blows at the

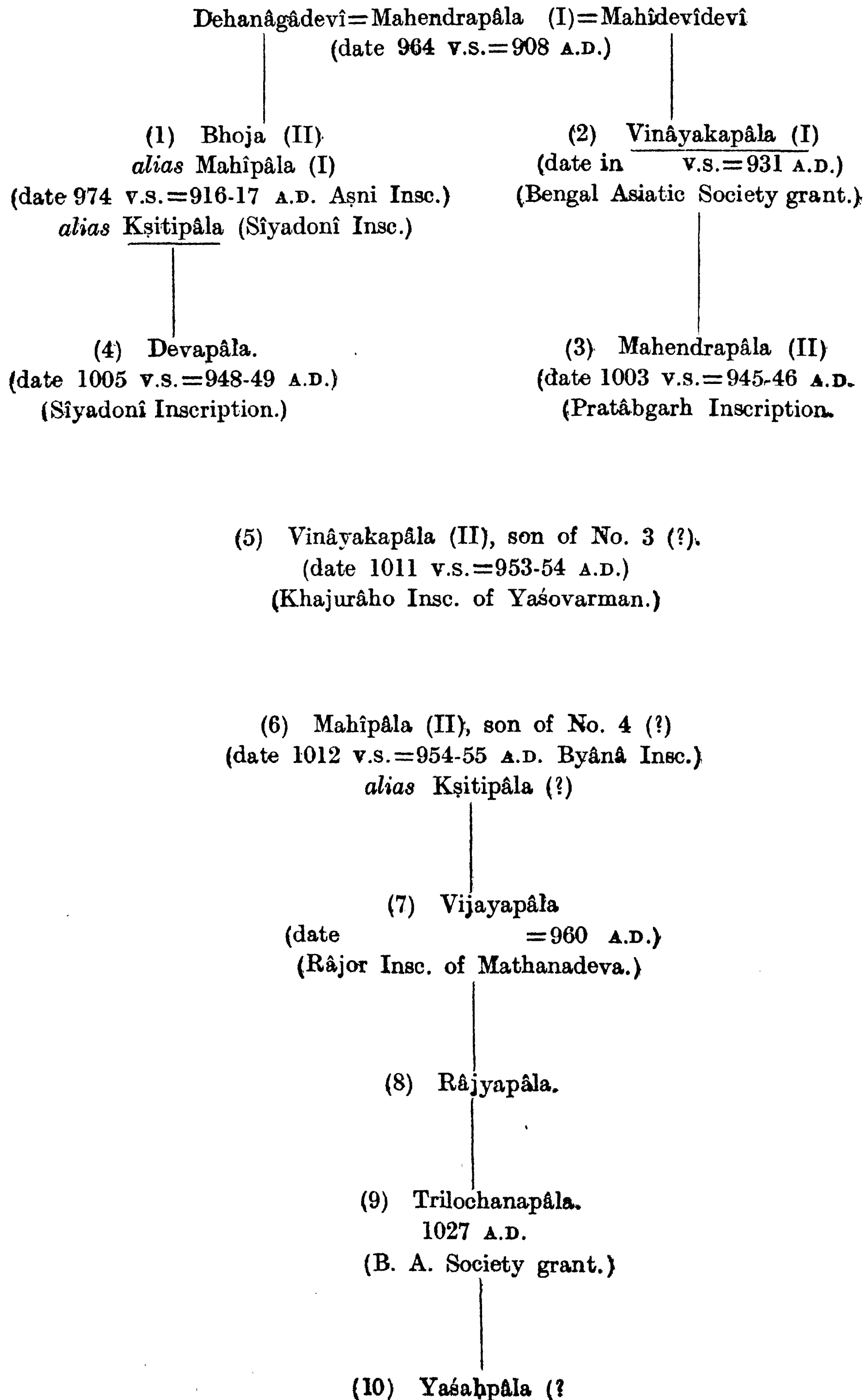
14 Byânâ inscription of Chitralêkha. *Pro. R.A.S.*, Western Circle, 1919, pp. 43-44. R.D.B.

15 Râjor Inscription of Mathanadeva. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 265.

16 Bengal A. S. grant of Trilochanapâla, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff., in which is mentioned the names of three kings Vijayapâla, Râjyapâla and Trilochanapâla who reigned in succession.

17 "In Vengi three Eastern Châlukya monarchs, *viz.*, Vijayâditya IV, his son Ammarâja I and Ammarâja's son, another Vijayâditya, ruled only for seven years, six and a half months. In Kâśmîra five kings, *viz.*, Suravarman I, Pârth, Samkaravardhana, Unmattâvanti and Suravarman II, ruled within six years (A.D. 933-39); and three generations of kings, *viz.*, Yaśaskara, his uncle Varṇaṭa, and his son Samgrâmadeva, ruled for ten years (A.D. 939-949)." *Political History*, p. 365, 2nd ed. Raychaudhuri. Other instances might also be cited.

worn-out gates of the imperial city and in farther corners the armies of Islam were sharpening their swords for the final stab. Nor are we to assume that after Vinâyakapâla (I) the dynasty was divided into two houses, one descended from Vinayakapâla (I) and the other from Mahilapâla (I) *alias* Bhoja (II) *alias* Kṣitipâla. For, there is no evidence whatsoever to show that the Pratihâra empire was ever divided between two rival houses.



THE EMPIRE OF ORISSA.

BY PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

I. Kapilêndra or Kapilêśvara (1435—70).

VERY little is known about the founder of the most powerful dynasty of Orissa, the Sûrya-vaṁśa dynasty, which ruled over the eastern coast of the Indian Peninsula for a little over a century. In the South Arcot District the founder of this dynasty was known as the Kumâra-Mahâpâtra even in 1464-65. In two inscriptions only, one at Gopinâthpur in the Cuttack District, he is stated to be descended from the race of the Sun[1]. Kapilêśvara's relation, Gaṇadêva, Râutarâya, the viceroy of Koṇḍaviḍu in 1455, also mentions him as being descended from the Solar race.[2] We are totally ignorant about the circumstances which brought him to the throne after the extinction of the Eastern Gaṅgas. According to inscriptions, discovered up to date, Narasiṁha IV is the last known king of this dynasty and his latest known date is 1397 A.D.[3] The late Manmohan Chakravarti notes that there is an inscription of this king in the Śri Kurmam temple, on the eleventh pillar of the *maṇḍapa*, which is dated 1402-3 A.D.[4] The accession of Kapilêndra or Kapilêśvara cannot be placed earlier than 1434-35. The date given in the records of the temple of Jagannâtha at Puri is decidedly wrong.[5] According to that record the accession of the king took place at camp Kîrttivâsa on Wednesday Kâkarâ 2, Su. 4. But Sewell mentions that Kapilêśvara's accession took place in 1454 [6] and he follows Hunter, who places that event in 1452. All of these dates are incorrect, as Manmohan Chakravarti has already proved. The correctness of Manmohan Chakravarti's calculations is corroborated by the *Burhân-i-Ma'asir.*[7] The local accounts of Orissa such as the *Puri Record* (called *Mâdalâ Pâñji* in Oṛiyâ) places another king between Narasiṁha IV and Kapilêśvara. He is called Bhânudeva[8]. As Kapilêśvara's accession did not take place till 1435 there is plenty of room to place two or three scions of the Eastern Gaṅgas after the last known date of Narasiṁha IV and before the beginning of the Sûrya-vaṁśa dynasty.

During the last days of the Gaṅga dynasty Orissa had lost her prestige and she was being hard pressed by the independent Sultâns of Bengal from the north, the Bahmanî Sultâns from the west and the emperors of Vijayanagara from the south. Sewell's list supplies us with a clear instance of changes in the overlordship of Koṇḍaviḍu, when it was in the possession either of the kings of Orissa or the emperors of Vijayanagara. One Lâṅgulîya Gajapati was succeeded by the Reḍḍi king Râcha Veṇka (1420-31). Then came two sovereigns of Vijayanagara, who are named Pratâpadeva (Devarâya II) and Harihara. They were succeeded by king Kapilêśvara of Orissa[9]. The date of the rise of Kapilêśvara coincides with that of the commencement of the decline of Voḍeyar or Yâdava dynasty of Vijayanagara. He ascended the throne of Orissa during the lifetime of Devarâya II and continued to rule till the Sâḷuva usurpation. It opened a glorious career for him and permitted him to conquer the whole of the Eastern coast of India, at least as far as Trichinopoly District of the Madras Presidency. No other king of Northern India and no sovereign of Orissa ever succeeded in ruling over such a large portion of Southern India. The conquest of the Tamil country by Kapilêśvara was no temporary occupation. The Eastern Tamil Districts and practically the whole of the Telugu country remained in his occupation for over ten years. This is proved by an inscription of the reign of the Vijayanagara emperor Virupâksha, according to which, on account of confusion caused by the invasion of the king of Orissa the festivals in the temple of Śiva at Jâmbai in the South Arcot District ceased for ten years, sometime before 1472-73 A.D. The drama *Gaṅgâdâsa-Pratâpavilâsam* also refers to an invasion

1 *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, pt. 1, pp. 173-79.
2 *Above*, vol. XX, 1891, pp. 390-93.
3 *JASB.*, vol. LXIV, pp. 133.
4 *Ibid.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 182, note 1.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 181 *note*.
6 Sewell, *A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 48 and note 3.
7 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVIII, 1899, p. 285.
8 *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 182.
9 *Sketch of South Indian Dynasties*, p. 48.

of Vijayanagara by the king of Orissa.[10] Another inscription in the South Arcot District records that in 1464-65 the village of Munnur was actually in the occupation of *Kumâra Mahâpâtra* Kapilêśvara, son of Ambîradeva. We have therefore to admit that from 1464 till the date of his death in 1470 Kapilêśvara was in possession of the whole of the Eastern Coast of the Indian Peninsula from the Balasore District of Orissa to the extreme south of the Trichinopoly District. We have no means so far of deducing the exact chronology of events in the process of these conquests, but we obtain some help from Musalman histories. The best of these are no doubt Firishta and the *Burhân-i-Ma'asir*. Kapilêndradeva was the contemporary of Sultân 'Alâuddîn Aḥmad II, who ascended the throne on the 21st February 1435. One of the earliest events connected with the king of Orissa, in the *Burhân-i-Ma'asir*, is a statement of the condition of western part of the Telugu country. It is stated in this work that the leader of the Hindu chiefs of the country above the Ghâts was an Oṛiyâ. Kapilêśvara is not mentioned by name, but the statement made about the number of elephants which this Oṛiyâ chief possessed proves that the king of Orissa himself had come to occupy the most prominent position among the Hindu chiefs of the Telugu speaking country. It is stated that at that time a chief named Sanjar Khân was occupied in the delightful pastime of capturing innocent Hindu villagers of the plains of Telingana and transporting them as slaves into the interior of Deccan.[11] At this time Sultân 'Alâuddîn Aḥmad S̱hâh Bahmanî is stated to have said that it was dangerous to meddle with a man who possessed more than two hundred thousand elephants, while the Bahmanî monarch did not possess more than one hundred and fifty. This is just the beginning of Kapilêndra's interferences in affairs outside Orissa proper. The next mention of Telingana in the *Burhân-i-Ma'asir* is in connection with the rebel chief Muḥammad Khân, to whom the district of Râyâchal in that locality was assigned.[12] Gradually Kapilêndra came to be regarded as the suzerain of Telingana, and the occasion soon rose to put him to the test. Though Varangal had been occupied in 1423, the districts of Telingana both above and below the Ghâts still remained to be conquered. According to Firishta, Humâyûn S̱hâh Bahmanî determined to conquer Devârkoṇḍâ and sent Ḵhwâjah-i-Jahân with a large army, and the fort was besieged. He sent an appeal for help to Kapilêndra, who marched so swiftly with his army that he caught the Muhammadan general unawares. The besieged also sallied out and attacked the Musalmans from the other side. Caught between two armies, Ḵhwâjah-i-Jahân was defeated and compelled to fly.[13] The Muhammadans never attempted to rally, and Musalman historians had to find some other excuse for Humâyûn S̱hâh Bahmanî, as he never attempted to cross swords with Kapilêndra, so long as he was alive.[14] It is probable that on this occasion Kapilêndra wiped out the Reḍḍi sovereigns of Koṇḍaviḍu and other places.

A drama named *Gaṅgâdâsa-Pratâpavilâsam* by Gaṅgâdhara mentions that Kapilêndra had united with the Bahmanî king and invaded the territories of the Voḍeyar or Yâdava dynasty of Vijayanagara. In view of his hostile relations with the Sultâns of Bîdar, it is not possible to believe that he had invaded Vijayanagara in alliance with any Musalman power. The subsequent reference to his wars with the Bahmanî Sultâns prove definitely that he, at least, was at no time in amicable relation with any Musalman king. The *Gaṅgâdâsa-Pratâpavilâsam* says that immediately after the death of Devarâya II of Vijayanagara in 1446, Kapilêndra allied himself with 'Alâuddîn Aḥmad II Bahmanî and advanced as far as Vijayanagara, but had to retire after a defeat in the hands of Mallikârjuna.[15] This story was

10 *Report of the Asstt. Archl. Supdt., S.C.*, 1906-7, p. 84.

11 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 237.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 238.

13 This is known as the battle of Devârkoṇḍâ and its date is approximately 864 A.H. = 1459 A.D. according to Firishta.

14 Brigg's *The Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, vol. III, pp. 456-58; *I. A.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 244.

15 S. K. Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Madras, 1919, pp. 65-66. The author omits to identify Pâvâchala with Pâvâgadh near Champaner in the Panch Mahals District of Bombay. It is the Pavangaḍh of Marâṭhâ chronicles.

evidently an invention of Vijayanagara Court chroniclers to hide the shame of their sovereign after his defeat at the hands of the Orissan Monarch, whom they referred to as "the Oḍḍiyân" contemptuously. This supposed joint expedition of 'Alâuddîn Aḥmad II is not mentioned in Musalman histories also. Though the chroniclers of Vijayanagara say that in 1446 Mallikârjuna defeated Kapilêndra, we find that correct statements are made in South Indian inscriptions about the state of the Tamil country which Kapilêndra had conquered. Kapilêndra's conquest of northern Tamil Districts is not a myth as supposed by Prof. Aiyangar of the Madras University. "The aggressiveness of Orissa is seen in the claim made in behalf of the Gajapatis of a successful advance by them as far as Kanchi, in a dramatic romance called the Kâñji-Kâveri-Pothi."[16] An inscription, No. 93 of 1906, states that on account of the confusion "caused by the Oḍḍiyân (*i.e.*, the king of Orissa)" the festivals in the temple of Śiva at Jâmbai in the South Arcot District had ceased for ten years.[17] This inscription is dated 1472-73. From another inscription, dated 1470-71, of the reign of the Sâḷuva chief Narasiṁha (?) we find that great confusion was caused by the invasion of the king of Orissa about eight or ten years earlier, and the temple of Vishṇu at Tirukoilur could not therefore be repaired.[18] Two inscriptions from Muṇṇur in the South Arcot District prove that that part of the Tamil country was actually in the possession of Kapilêndra in the Śaka year 1386 = 1464-65 A.D. Both of these records are incised on the walls of the Âḍavalleśvara temple in the village of Muṇṇur in the Taluka of Tiṇḍivanam. Both of them mention "*Dakshiṇa-Kapileśvara-Kumâra Mahâpâtra* son of Âmbîra." No. 51 of 1919 records "a gift of land for '*Ahamvîrabhoga*' festival (?) and repairs to the temples of Tirumulattanamudaiyar-Mahâdeva and Perumal-Purushottama in the same village."[19] The same record is repeated once more on the walls of the same temple (No. 92). In dealing with this inscription the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Shastri state "these are dated in the Śaka year 1386 (A.D. 1464-65) and epigraphically confirm the statement about the southern invasion of the Orissa king noticed on page 84 of the *Annual Report* for 1907 . . . . our inscriptions clearly prove that this southern conquest by the combined armies was an event that happened about six years later. It establishes also that the earlier conquest by Gajapati was not a passing inroad only, but almost an occupation of the southern country right up to Tiruvarur in the Tanjore District and Trichinopoly."[20] The obsession of South Indian writers about the joint invasion of Vijayanagara by the Bahmanî Sultân and Kapilêndra continues from the date of Gaṅgâdhara up to our own times. It is therefore necessary to prove first of all that Kapilêndra of Orissa could not have been an ally of any of his contemporary Sultâns of Bîdar. 'Alâuddîn Aḥmad II Bahmanî died in 1457 and was succeeded by his son 'Alâuddîn Humâyûn, who ruled over the Bahmanî empire for four years only. Inscription No. 1 of 1905 clearly indicates that the occupation of the South Arcot and Tanjore Districts took place about ten years before 1471, *i.e.*, in 1461, *i.e.*, about or immediately after the death of 'Alâuddîn Humâyûn S͟hâh Bahmanî. Firishta and the *Burhân-i-Ma'asir* agree in stating that immediately after the death of 'Alâuddîn Humâyûn S͟hâh Bahmanî and the accession of his infant son Sulṭân Niẓâm S͟hâh Bahmanî, Kapilêndra invaded the Bahmanî empire with a large army and almost reached the gates of Bîdar, the Bahmanî capital. The details of the campaign are not given, and from the tone of Firishta it appears that the Bahmanî army, unable to cope with the invaders in the field, retired within the walls of the capital. Most probably Kapilêśvara and his ally the Kâkatîya chief of Varangal, who is described by Firishta as the Rây of Telingana, were purchased off. It appears that after the crushing defeat of the Musalmans at the battle of Devârkoṇḍâ the Bahmanîs never sallied out into the plains from the Deccan plateau, and after the death of Humâyûn S͟hâh, Kapilêndra crushed the Bahmanî power and invaded the metropolitan district, paralysing

16 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

17 *Annual Report of the Asstt. Arch. Superintendent, Southern Circle*, for 1906-7, p. 84.

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Ibid.*, 1918-19, p. 52.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

the Musalman attacks and inroads till the date of his death. After the death of Devarâya II of Vijayanagara and the consequent confusion in the southern Hindu empire, the control of the empire of Vijayanagara over the eastern coast of Bay of Bengal ceased and Kapilêndra, secure from attacks from the west, extended his dominions as far as Tanjore and Trichinopoly. The Muṇṇur inscription gives the area of his southern dominion in the following words, 'Kapilêśvara Kumâra Mahâpâtra', as the chief is called, was the son of Âmbîradeva, and is stated by both records to have been previously the *Parîksha* (Viceroy) of Koṇḍaviḍu.[21] But at the time of the inscription he was in the position of the *Parîksha* of Koṇḍaviḍu, Koṇḍapalle, Aḍḍanki, Vinukoṇḍâ, Pâḍaiviḍu,[22] Valudilampaṭṭu-Uśâvâdi, Tiruvarur, Tiruchchilapalle (Trichinopoly) and Chandragiri."[23] This list shows that the eastern Tamil country with the exception of Madurâ and Tinnevelly in the extreme south had been conquered by Kapilêndra from the emperors of Vijayanagara, just as he had wrested Telingana above the Ghâts from the Sulṭâns of Bîdar. There could have been no love lost between Kapilêndra of Orissa and the Bahmanî Sultâns, and consequently the dramatist Gaṅgâdhara's statement in the *Gaṅgâ-dâsa Pratâpavilâsam* cannot be regarded as accurate. There is further epigraphical corroboration about Kapilêndra's relations with the Sultân of Bîdar in the Kṛishṇa plates of Gaṇadeva of Koṇḍaviḍu dated 1435 A.D. Gaṇadêva claims to have defeated two Turushka princes, evidently of the Bahmanî dynasty, as there was no other Musalman monarchy in South India at that time except the Bahmanî empire. It cannot be understood why at Muṇṇur, a place included within the dominions of Kapilêndra, he is called *Kumâra* and *Mahâpâtra* ten years after the date of the Krishna copper-plates. Of course in his own country Kapilêśvara was acknowledged as the king in all inscriptions with proper titles. He is called *Gauḍeśvara*, *Gajapati*, *Karṇâṭa-Kalabaraḍeśvara* and Mahârâja. Most of these titles are given in the short votive inscriptions in the temples of Jagannâth of Puri and the Lingarâj temple at Bhuvaneśvar.[24] They are not given in detail in the Gopinâthpur inscription.[25] In Gaṇadeva's copper plate grant he is called Kapilêndra Gajapati in the metrical portion. There cannot be any doubt therefore of the fact that the titles Kumâra and Mahâpâtra in the Muṇṇur inscription are due to the ignorance of the scribe about the titles and real position of Kapilêśvara.

Gaṇadeva's Kṛishṇa inscription raises some interesting points, which were not decided when it was deciphered in 1891. Gaṇadeva was clearly the viceroy of Koṇḍaviḍu, but he came of the same family as the emperor Kapilêśvara himself. His grandfather's name was Chandradeva and his father's name was Guhideva. Yet he is called Râutarâya. The Telugu scribe spells it Rautarâya as well as Râhuttarâya, but this is really the same as the Oṛiyâ term Râutarâya, which is applied to the younger sons of Oṛiyâ chiefs of the present day. I learn that in the Mayurbhanj State the king's eldest son is called *Ṭikâit*, the second son the *Chhoṭarâya* and the third son *Râutarâya*.[26] *Râuta* cannot be *Râhutta*, but on the other hand is the same as the *Râvat* of Rajputana. The Kṛishṇa inscription shows that in the sixteenth century a man of a collateral branch of the royal family also could be called *Râutarâya*. Another interesting term is the adjective *Ayapa* applied to Gaṇadeva. *Ayapa* is the corruption of

21 Mr. H. Krishna Sastri thinks that he was Viceroy of the Koṇḍaviḍu and Daṇḍapâḍa. In reality Daṇḍapâṭ means a Viceroyalty in Oṛiyâ and is not the name of a place.

22 Mr. Krishna Sastri uses the word Daṇḍapâḍa a second time after Vinukoṇḍâ, which shows that this place was the seat of the Oṛiyâ Viceroy of the extreme south.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

24 *JASB.*, vols. LXII, 1893, pp. 92-93. In 1926 I succeeded in saving these valuable inscriptions at Bhuvaneśvar, but the authorities of Puri Temple have destroyed these valuable records in their own temple by covering them with cement and plaster. My attempts to clean them failed.

25 *Ibid.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, pp. 175-78.

26 *Twenty-five questions addressed to the Rajahs and Chiefs of the Regulation and Tributary Mahals by the Superintendent in* 1814, *and the answers given thereto illustrating the established practice in regard to succession to the guddee, &c.*, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, reprinted 1905, p. 5.

Sanskrit *Âryaputra* "the Lord's son." Details about other achievements of Kapilêndra are to be found in the form of slight allusions in the Gopinâthpur inscription. He is called the lion of the Karṇâṭa elephant, the victor of Kalavaraga (Gulbarga of the Bahmanîs) the destroyer of Mâlava (the Khaljî Sultâns of Mâlwâ), the defeater of Gauḍa (the independent Sultâns of Bengal of the second dynasty of Ilyâs Shâh). We are at a loss to understand how he could come in touch with the Khaljîs of Mâlwâ, because the powerful Goṇḍ kingdoms of Chanda and Deogaḍh and the Haihaya Rajputs of Bilâspur intervened between him and Mâlwâ. But most probably he allied himself with the Goṇḍs of Chanda and Deogaḍh in an attack of the eastern frontier of Mâlwâ. According to tradition, for which there is no corroboration, the independent Sulṭâns of Bengal lost southern Bengal to Kapilêndra, and no attempt was made by the former to recover Midnapur and Howrah Districts from the Oṛiyâs till the reign of 'Alâuddîn Ḥusain Shâh. Henceforth all kings of Orissa and even the petty Gajapatis of Khurda or Puri assumed the high sounding title *Nava-koṭî-Karṇâṭa Kalavaraḳeśvara*, "the lord of the nine lâkhs of Karṇâṭa and Gulbarga," and Gauḍeśvara.

In the Gopinâthpur inscription Gopînâtha Mahâpâtra states that Kapilêśvara was in possession of Khaṇḍagiri and Kâñchi. Evidently this inscription was incised after the completion of the conquest of the Tamil country by Kapilêśvara.

According to Oṛiyâ tradition, as recorded in the *Mâdalâ Pâñji*, Kapilêndra breathed his last on the banks of the Kṛishṇâ on Pausha Kṛishṇa 3, Tuesday, a date which the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti could not verify. His latest known date is still "41st *aṅka*, Dhanu, Sukla, 7=Sunday, 14th December 1466."[27] The traditional date of the death of Kapilêśvara given by Hunter and earlier writers is mistaken and incorrect. This is proved by the statement in the *Burhân-i-Ma'asir*[28] quoted above. This event, which took place in A.D. 1470., was hailed with great relief by the Musalmans of Southern India.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1926. Published by the Kern Institute, Leyden. 12¼"×9¼"; pp. x + 107; with 12 plates and 3 illustrations in the text. Leyden, 1928.

This publication is intended, we are told in the Foreword, "to contain the titles, systematically arranged, of all books and articles dealing with Indian archæology in its widest sense, that is, the investigation of the antiquities not only of India proper, but also of Further India, Indonesia and Ceylon and in fact, of all territories influenced by Indian civilisation, as well as the study of the ancient history of those countries, the history of their art, their epigraphy, iconography and numismatics." The volume before us consists of an Introduction surveying the literature dealing with the more important exploration and research work carried out during the year, followed by a classified bibliography, arranged according to geographical areas and subjects. The contents of each publication have been briefly but adequately noted, and in many cases extracts from review notices quoted, the editors themselves abstaining from criticism. In the case of historical works, the entries are mainly restricted to writings relating to the pre-Muhammadan period of Indian history. The desired data, we are informed, were not received from Italy, Japan and Russia; and it is thought probable that the information supplied regarding books and papers published in the Indian vernaculars is incomplete. Otherwise the selection of matter worthy of record seems to have been carefully and judiciously made. The experience gained as the compilation continues, and suggestions received from scholars using the work will indicate whether any modification or amplification can be introduced in future issues. The extensive survey of the literature relating to the more important work done during the year contained in the Introduction (pp. 1-28) is of special merit. Concise and clear, it describes the essential matters in each case, and bears the *cachet* of a scholar familiar with the history of the subjects discussed.

The importance to scholars and to all students of Indian Archæology and history of a scientifically prepared bibliography of this character cannot be exaggerated; and the present volume will be widely welcomed as the beginning of what should supply a long-felt need. It should find a place in the library of every one interested in the antiquities

27 *Ibid.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 183.

28 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVIII, p. 285.

and ancient history of India and the Far East. As the utility of such a work of reference becomes fully realized and its use extended, it is hoped that co-operation towards its preparation will no longer be withheld, and financial assistance will be more generously accorded.

The index, which is restricted to authors' names, having regard to the general arrangement of the contents, has been suitably prepared; the plate reproduction is of outstanding excellence; and the paper and printing leave nothing to be desired: in fact the whole out-turn of this inaugural volume is worthy of the three distinguished scholars forming the editorial board, who are to be congratulated on its appearance.

C.E.A.W.O.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN MITHILA. Volume 1 (Smṛiti Literature.)

The B. & O. R. Society under the patronage of the Bîhar and Orissa Government, has been carrying on a very fruitful search for Sanskrit and Prakrit literature during the last ten years or so. Nine years of this decade were devoted to the search in Mithilâ and the district of Puri in Orissa, the two important centres of Sanskrit learning. During this period of investigation very valuable manuscripts have been found, which are now being catalogued by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri, the two learned Editors of the Society's *Journal*. The manuscripts so far discovered in Mithilâ have been arranged in ten or eleven different sections such as Smṛiti, Vêda, Vyâkaraṇa, etc., the anonymous or the modern ones being separately classed as Miscellaneous with a view to issuing their catalogues in different volumes. The catalogue under notice is the first of the series. It gives us a descriptive list of various Smṛiti works and Nibandhas or digests, including the highly interesting *Ratnâkaras* of Chaṇḍeśvara, with which, thanks to Mr. Jayaswal's laudable devotion to the cause of our ancient learning, we are already familiar, and enables us to have a *siṁhâvalôkana* of not less than 455 such books. The Smṛitis, I believe, were written according to the exigencies of time, and their value for the social history of India can hardly be overrated. As Mithilâ had all along been one of the chief centres of Brahmanic or Hindu learning where Smṛiti literature seems to have had an uninterrupted development, the manuscripts described in this volume—some of which seem to be indigenous to it—will amply repay study. The erudite editors have done a great service to the cause of Indology by bringing out this useful catalogue and we feel indebted not only to them and the B. & O. R. Society but also to the B. & O. Government for bringing to light such valuable material for the study of early Indian culture. One would, indeed, be justified in remarking that it is 'one of those good deeds which will be never lost.'

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

MANGALORE, A Historical Sketch by GEORGE M. MORAES. Preface by FATHER HERAS, S.J. Mangalore, Codialbail Press, 1927.

This little book of 94 pages is, Father Heras tells us, "the first product of the St. Xavier's College Indian Historical Research Institute" by a research student, and has been written clearly under the guidance of a tutor. As such, it is a useful little work and puts together much information about that west coast port.

The author has under the conditions set about his history in the right way, and I may say at once that his effort has resulted in a book which may well be imitated by other research students. He prints his "unpublished documents" in a series of appendices and gives a full list of his "published documents," some of which must be quite rare, reminding us of an old saying—"a book is not necessarily published because it has been printed."

Mangalore has never been an important town, but like many others of its kind, it has taken its share in general history. So in discussing its separate history we are taken into the doings of the greater personages and peoples that have worked and struggled round it. In this way sidelights are thrown on the work of the early Christians, the Portuguese, the Nayaks of Ikeri, and travellers like Pietro della Valle. Incidentally "the King of the Gioghi," mentioned by Varthema and others, plays his little part. Lastly we come to Haidar 'Alî and Tipu Sultan, and the not very elevating story of the British occupation. In regard to this tale of the captivity of the Christians at Seringapatam by Tipu, I would refer the author to Harvey's *History of Burma* in relation to figures in Indian and Far Eastern story. He gives his reasons for roughly dividing them by ten to get at something like the truth. By this "rule" the number of the captives is reduced to 6,000, and as 2,000 was the number of those that eventually returned home it would seem to be not far wrong.

R. C. TEMPLE.

INDEX.

P.E.W. stands for the Supplement, Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters, pp. 205-248.
S.M.S.R. stands for the Supplement, The Śaurasênî and Mâgadhî Stabakas of Râma-Śarman (Tarkavâgîśa), pp. 21—56.
S.P. stands for the Supplement, Notes on The Seven Pagodas, pp. 1—16.